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THE MONUMENTS

OF

EGYPT

THE

MONUMENTS OF EGYPT;

OR,

EGYPT A WITNESS FOR THE BIBLE.

BY

FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D. D., LL. D.

WITH

NOTES OF A VOYAGE UP THE NILE

BY AN AMERICAN.

NEW-YORK:
GEO. P. PUTNAM, 155 BROADWAY.
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M.DCCC.L.

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HAWKS

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TO THE

RIGHT REV. BISHOP BROWNELL,

OF CONNECTICUT,

THIS BOOK

Is Respectfully Inscribed,

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF THE UNWAVERING FRIENDSHIP

OF MANY YEARS.

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EGYPT AND ITS MONUMENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE compiler of the following pages was prompted to the work partly by his own reflections, and partly by the request of a friend, who thought that such a labor might be useful to the cause of truth. It is not a scientific work, nor was it penned for the learned. They probably will have already acquired, in their studies, all the information they can gather from its pages.

On such a subject as this book presents, to have attempted originality, would unavoidably have been to commit error; for its simple object was to collect into a plain and comprehensible compend, the results of the research of many different inquirers in the field of Egyptian archæology. The writer, therefore, begs leave distinctly to disavow all claim to the merits of *authorship*. He aspires here to no more than the humble office of a *compiler*. He will be abundantly satisfied, if he shall be found to have so used the materials, furnished by others more learned than himself, as to have made an intelligible, true, and readable book.

He would not be guilty of the injustice of robbing those to whose labors he has been so largely indebted. He has

used them without hesitation or reserve, wherever they could, in his view, advance the cause of truth; because, first, he believed of many of them that, as lovers of truth, they would not withhold such use; and next, because he meant distinctly to declare to the world, as he has done, that he claims to be no more than a compiler. He has often referred in the following pages to the writer from whom he obtained information, and has quoted his words; but as in some instances this is not done, he begs leave to make a general acknowledgment, and enumerate the principal authors to whom he is indebted. These are Champollion le Jeune, Champollion Figeac, Rosellini, Young, Spineto, Lepsius, Wilkinson, Birch, Osborn, Bunsen, Kitto, Hengstenberg, and the "Description" of the French savans.

Had there been *precisely* such a work as is here attempted, accessible to English readers, the writer would, with becoming modesty, have withheld his efforts. The only one of a similar kind, is the truly learned work of Hengstenberg, "Egypt and the Books of Moses;" very well translated into English from the German, in 1843, by Mr. Robbins, then of the Andover Seminary, and published in the same year. But this work, valuable as it confessedly is, (and none has been more useful to the compiler,) is almost too learned for general readers: its arrangement also seemed susceptible of improvement; but above all, there was additional testimony resting in the writings of others, which it was desirable to incorporate with the valuable contributions of Hengstenberg. Hence the present attempt.

It had been easy to make the work more full. Many more illustrations and confirmations might have been produced, and a chapter might have been written on the fulfil-

ment of prophecies concerning Egypt: but to have done this, would have been in some measure to defeat the object of the work; which was to select the plainest and most intelligible proofs, and to present them with reasonable brevity; in the hope that without wearisomeness they might engage the attention of the general reader, who could not be expected to find much interest in evidence that could be made plain by learned discussion only.

To Mr. Gliddon undeniably belongs the merit of having first awakened general attention, in the United States, to the very interesting subject of Egyptian antiquities. As the result of his labors in that cause, many intelligent and educated Americans have since busied themselves in the field of research. Several have visited Egypt; and while the following sheets were passing through the press, one of them returned from that country, who, at the request of the writer, placed at his disposal a brief journal of his voyage up and down the Nile. This is printed at the close of the present volume, with a note explanatory of the causes which led to its appearance.

New-York, September, 1849.

EGYPT

AND ITS MONUMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Interest excited by Egypt.—Object of the present work.—Art of writing very ancient in Egypt.—Egyptian author Manetho.—Greek writers, Herodotus, Diodorus.—Work of Horapollo.—Modern efforts at deciphering the hieroglyphics.—Father Kircher.—Zoega.—Warburton's hint.—Quatremère's discovery.—Work of the French savans.—Discovery of the Rosetta stone.

"EGYPT.—This country offers subjects of conversation and meditation which no traveller can entirely neglect, whoever he may be, if he have eyes to see, a memory to remember, and a sprinkling of imagination wherewith to dream. Who can be indifferent to the tableau of unaccountable Nature on the banks of the Nile: at the spectacle of this river-land, that no other land resembles? Who will not be moved in the presence of this people, which of old accomplished such mighty deeds, and now are reduced to misery so extreme? Who can visit Alexandria, Cairo, the Pyramids, Heliopolis, Thebes, without being moved by reminiscences,

the most imposing and the most diverse? The Bible, Homer, Philosophy, the Sciences, Greece, Rome, Christianity, the Monks, Islamism, the Crusades, the French Revolution: almost every thing great in this world's history seems to converge into the pathway of him who traverses this memorable country! Abraham, Sesostris, Moses, Helen, Agesilaus, Alexander, Pompey, Cæsar, Cleopatra, Aristarchus, Plotinus, Pacomus, Origen, Athanasius, Saladin, St. Louis, Napoleon! what names! what contrasts! * * * * * * A country made to occupy eternally the world, Egypt appears at the very origin of the traditions of Judea and of Greece. Moses issues from her; Plato, Pythagoras, Lycurgus, Solon, Herodotus, Strabo and Tacitus enter into her bosom to be initiated in her sciences, religion and laws."

Thus breaks forth the enthusiasm of an eloquent French writer, as he kindles in the contemplation of a favorite theme. Without participating in the excitement of his feelings, it must still be confessed, that there is an absorbing interest in the land which he thus glowingly depicts. The attention that it has excited within the last half century has developed so much, which neither the Christian nor the scholar is willing to neglect; that patient labor still employs itself in research, undeterred by unusual difficulties, and undisgusted by the exaggerations of the too credulous archæologist. Persevering industry will overcome the one, and a sound judgment affords a corrective to the other. Nor must it be supposed that the exaggeration is all on one side. If there be those who have prematurely sounded the note of triumph in their supposed discovery of monumental testimony that disproves the truth of the sacred records; it must not be forgotten, that, on the other hand, there are some who have found, as they imagine,

in certain particulars, evidence for the Bible, of the conclusiveness of which, even the sober-minded Christian will entertain a doubt. He who is best acquainted with the present state of Egyptian discoveries, cannot but feel, that our knowledge is yet much too imperfect on some points, to justify over-confident assertion or critical dogmatism. From the tomb of past ages, much that is very valuable has undoubtedly been disinterred: that much yet remains to be unburied, is proved by the constant accumulation of facts, daily added to our already existing knowledge of Egyptian antiquities. It is, perhaps, not saying too much to assert, that, with our present materials, any attempt at generalization on *all* the points brought to our notice by a study of Egyptian archæology, is premature, and as to some points, must terminate in erroneous conclusions.

The object of the present volume, therefore, is neither to afford a connected history of Egypt, nor to furnish the reader with a satisfactory explanation of every inscription or representation on the walls of its venerable ruins. Its less ambitious, and it is hoped not less useful aim, is to bring forward, in an intelligible form, certain *facts* that appear to be well attested, and thus to afford to the reader the means of judging for himself how far they furnish illustration of, or give direct confirmation to, the truth of events recorded in the Scriptures.

A necessary preliminary to the performance of this undertaking, is a recital of the sources of information we possess in matters relating to Egypt; and particularly an account of the discoveries made in hieroglyphical interpretation within the last half century. With that, therefore, we commence.

Of the very great antiquity of writing among the Egyptians, and of their consequent early possession of books, little doubt seems now to be entertained among the learned. The

inkstand and the stylus are found on monuments which carry us back to a period anterior, as is supposed, to the time of which we have any recorded history. But on this subject we are not left to a mere inference from monumental remains. The earliest writings of the Egyptians, are believed to have been contained in their sacred books. For our knowledge of these writings we are indebted chiefly, and indeed almost entirely, to Clemens of Alexandria. He is entitled to belief, as having been a resident in Egypt, if not a native, eminently learned, and of unimpeachable Christian character. His life terminated between the years of our Lord 200 and 220; and he states that in his time the Egyptians had forty-two sacred books. These books were divided into several classes; one, for instance, was on medicine; another on astronomy; a third was on the hieroglyphical art, and consequently taught the rudiments of Egyptian writing; a fourth class was devoted to religious worship, while another comprised the sacerdotal books, and bore the general name of Hieratic writings. These last, as Clement states, treated of "the Laws, the Deities, and the entire education of the Priests."

The only portion of these writings of which the moderns are as yet possessed, is in what Champollion called the "Ritual," and Lepsius named "The Book of the Dead." It was originally found in the tombs of the kings at Thebes, in the form of a hieroglyphical papyrus. Its pictorial ornaments showed that it treated of ceremonies in honor of the dead, and the transmigration of souls. Afterward, Champollion found a much more perfect copy in the museum of Turin: this has been published by Lepsius, with the remark that "this book furnishes the only example of a great Egyptian literary work, transmitted from the old Pharaonic times." It possesses one

peculiarity that is significant of its great antiquity; it is written in the pure monumental hieroglyphic character, while in all the other extant remains of Egyptian literature, the hieratic character is employed. This difference is important in other aspects, to which we advert not here, as the object now is simply to illustrate the fact of the great antiquity of the art of writing in Egypt.

The next question that naturally arises, is an inquiry whether any, and if any, what historical works have come down to our day from Egyptian authors? The answer to this must be, that although we have some fragments, of which to speak presently, yet that nothing deserving the name of an authentic and continuous *history* concerning ancient Egypt, has yet been found in her monuments or elsewhere; while of some portions of that history, the only records worthy of confidence, are contained in the Bible. For the preservation of these, the pride of a tyrannical Pharaoh little dreamed that it would be indebted to the oppressed victims of its persecution. The proud triumphs of Egyptian kings are lost in the past, or but indistinctly read in a mysterious language on the decaying walls of temples, tombs, and palaces; while the heartless cruelties that preceded the exode of a race, outcasts in Egypt and trampled in the dust, are chronicled by the providence of God, for all time, on imperishable pages:

"The evil that men do lives after them."

Egypt has no certain history of her ancient greatness. That her "sacred books did not contain any history of the Egyptian nation," says the Chevalier Bunsen, "is no less certain than that the Old Testament does contain that of the Jews. The

idea of a people did not exist—still less that of a people of God, the Creator of the heavens and the earth. History was born in that night, when Moses, with the law of God, moral and spiritual, in his heart, led the people of Israel out of Egypt."

It has already been intimated that fragments of Egyptian writers have come down to our days. Of these, the only one worthy of note is *Manetho*. He lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, about 180 B. C. His work, originally in three volumes or books, was written, it is said, at the command of Ptolemy, and is now lost. All that we have of it is to be found in quotations from it, in the writings of Josephus, Eusebius, and Syncellus. The last of these quotes from two abbreviators of Manetho, one of whom was Eratosthenes; the work of the other is called "The Old Chronicle."

Manetho (as Plutarch informs us) was a priest of Sebennytus; hence he is sometimes called the Sebennyte. He wrote in the Greek language, but professed to draw his materials from Egyptian sources. Manetho's history, like that of many other ancient nations, refers the origin of his people to gods and demigods, who reigned for hundreds of thousands of years. The first of these was the Sun or Phra, whence came the name Pharaoh, as a generic term applied to all the Egyptian monarchs. He then commences with the reign of men, and extends his list of sovereigns over an incredibly long period, if time were computed then as it is now. But it is no part of the purpose of the present work to enter into the much disputed question of Egyptian chronology. The general reader will find in it little to interest him, and we are not presumptuous enough to suppose that our pages will furnish any attraction to the historical antiquarian. Beside, without

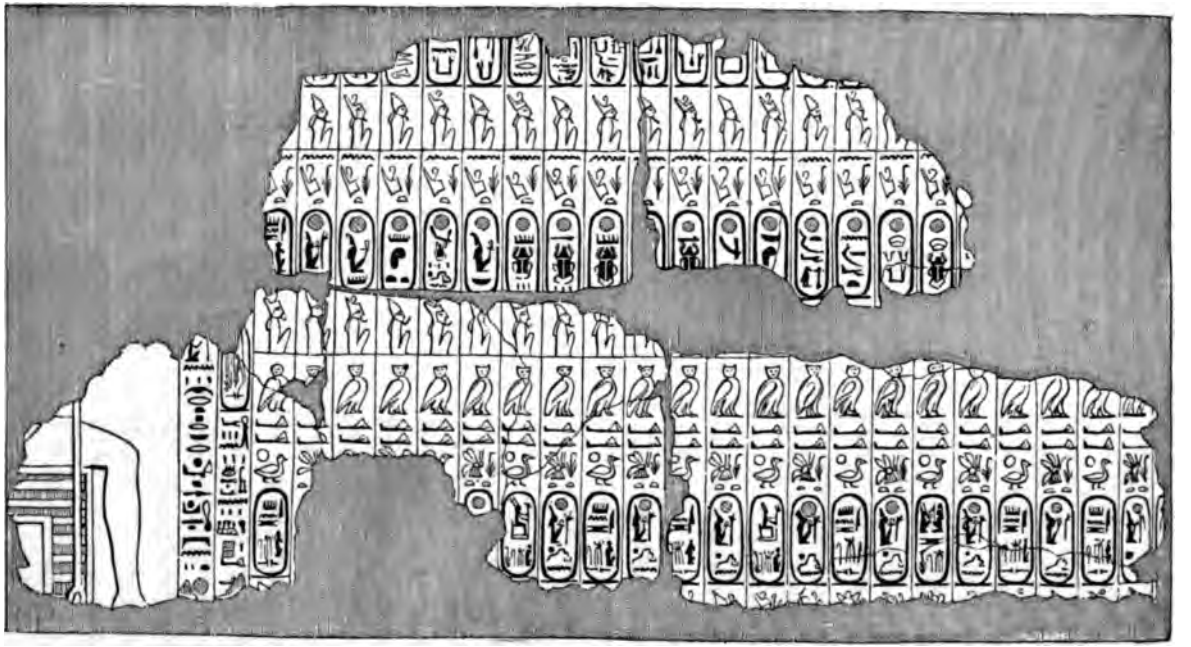
meaning to undervalue chronology, as a very important feature in the study of history, we may yet be permitted to say in the words of a modern writer on Egypt, that "the disclosures made by inscriptions on public buildings, of kings, wars, and conquests, may, when verified as to age, and placed in their probable order by the aid of learning and criticism, reveal more as to the dynasties and individual sovereigns; but on such information, even when free from doubt and most accurate, little real value can be set; while the Bible supplies, either by express statement or obvious implication, *facts and principles* which constitute *genuine history*, and go far to give the past all the value which it can possess for the men of these times."

It is proper to add that, while, among the learned generally, there seems to be no doubt that Manetho had a real existence, and wrote what has been preserved in quotations from his works; yet there have not been wanting some who deem the writings under his name to be entirely fabulous. The learned Hengstenberg is of this class. In his work, entitled "Egypt and the Books of Moses," he devotes an entire article in his appendix to this subject; and, with great ingenuity, throws more than the shadow of a suspicion on the authenticity and credibility of the supposed Egyptian historian. He considers the work to be spurious, and of later times than the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. In this conclusion we are not prepared entirely to acquiesce, though it is possible that an exaggerated importance may have been given by some, to the writings under the name of Manetho. They derive, however, so much confirmation from the discovery of what is known as the "tablet of Abydus," that their entire rejection as authority seems scarcely consistent with sound criticism.

The tablet of Abydus, which is now in the British Museum, is delineated on the opposite page. It is a series of royal rings inclosing the inaugural titles of the names of many of the ancient kings of Egypt, in the order of their succession. It was engraved on the wall of one of the vestibules of a temple, which has been excavated in the mountain to the north of the city of Abydus. It is not, however, to be concealed, that, while in some instances it confirms Manetho's lists, in others, it is directly at variance with them.

Another source of information concerning Egypt is in the writings of Herodotus. This oldest of the Greek historians was born about 484 B. C., and having from political causes become an exile from his native city, he travelled through Greece, Egypt, Asia, Scythia, Thrace, and Macedonia. His work is divided into nine books, which he named after the nine muses. The second of these, Euterpe, is devoted to Egypt, and contains an account not merely of what he saw, but also of such explanations as he received from the Egyptian priests, together with observations on the manners and customs of the country, and a long dissertation on the succession of its kings. He does not pretend, in this latter subject, to observe strict chronological order; and his work is chiefly valuable when brought into juxtaposition with other authorities that can be relied on.

Diodorus Siculus is another writer, of less value, however, than Herodotus. He professes to treat of the affairs of Egypt. He visited the country about 58 B. C., though his work was written at a later period. He brought to his task (says Bunsen) "a mere acquaintance with books, without either sound judgment, critical spirit, or comprehensive views. He was more successful consequently in complicating and mysti-



TABLET OF ABYDUS.

fying, than in sifting and illustrating the traditions with which he had to deal." This, however, will probably be deemed by some, and those not altogether unlearned, a harsher judgment than Diodorus deserves. There is a school of "Egyptologists," as they somewhat affectedly style themselves, with whom it is fashionable to depreciate Diodorus; though some among them can and do quote and rely on him when his testimony confirms their views. That Diodorus often betrays a want of sound judgment, and writes silly things, may be true; so do Herodotus and others, at times; but Diodorus often relates *facts*, the truth of which is established by other testimony as well as his. The Christian student of Egyptian antiquities, however, is at no loss to find a cause for the studied depreciation of Diodorus. To these might be added other authorities of minor importance; while of *all* it may be said that they shed little, if any, light upon the system of hieroglyphic writing, and certainly none upon its proper interpretation.

It was believed, long ago, that the singular devices and inscriptions to be found on the temples and tombs of Egypt, were historical documents; and that, if correctly interpreted, they would probably furnish a more correct account of the early condition of this ancient and long-civilized nation, than could be derived from any other source. Many obelisks and other works of art may still be seen at Rome, which had been carried thither from Egypt by the emperors: these are covered with hieroglyphics, the meaning of which had provoked the curiosity, and stimulated the study, of men of letters, almost from the period of the revival of learning in Europe, in the fifteenth century. The classic authors of Greece and Rome, however, who had written on the hieroglyphics, without understanding

them, had created the impression that their correct interpretation had been so studiously concealed by the priests, and was, withal, so imperfectly understood even by them, that it had been irrecoverably lost before the days of the latter emperors. Notwithstanding this discouraging view, however, some among the moderns ventured to hope that persevering industry, added to critical skill, might solve the mystery, and read this strange "handwriting on the wall." There was known to be in existence a work, purporting to have been written by Horapollo, and professing to give a meaning to some, at least, of the sculptured figures common in Egypt.

Horapollo was an Egyptian scribe; but he did not live until the beginning of the fifth century of our era; and consequently all that he could do was to gather the traditionary and fast fading interpretation of such symbols as were then understood by his countrymen. But even the original of his work, imperfect as it must necessarily have been, was lost; and all that remains of it is a Greek translation made by Philip, who is supposed to have lived a century or two later than Horapollo, and at a time when every vestige of *certain* knowledge, in the work of interpretation, must have been lost. Philip undoubtedly introduced new matter of his own invention, but with all its imperfections, the book was not without value in the earlier modern efforts at interpretation; and is at least curious, as being "the only ancient volume entirely devoted to the task of unravelling the mystery in which Egyptian learning has been involved; and as one, which, in many instances, unquestionably contains the correct interpretation."* One of the earliest of the moderns, in the field as an interpreter, was the learned

* A very beautiful edition of Horapollo, accompanied with an English translation, was published a few years since by Mr. Cory, of Pembroke College, Cam-

Jesuit, Father Kircher. In 1636 he published six bulky folios, in which he professed to explain and read most of the hieroglyphical inscriptions on the Egyptian monuments then in Europe. His interpretations were all wrapped in an unintelligible mysticism; and at least proved that the imagination of the worthy father was as prolific as his learning was unquestionable. If, however, he failed in interpretation, his labors were not useless. Osborn remarks that "Kircher eminently assisted the researches that ultimately proved successful, by bringing together in his book a voluminous collection of passages from the Greek and Latin authors respecting Egypt. And still more, by calling the attention of the learned to the Coptic tongue, in which a vast number of MSS. were collected in the Vatican and other libraries, both public and private, in Italy." Kircher had many able successors, than whom, perhaps, none deserves more honorable mention than the learned Dane, George Zoega. He published in 1797 his work on the origin and use of the obelisks, and very many of his suggestions were undoubtedly of great use to those who came after him. An incidental hint was thrown out, also, by the acute mind of Warburton, which, though viewed by the learned of that day with incredulity, has subsequently been found to point to the truth. In his "Divine Legation" he was led, from an attentive perusal of what had been said by Clement of Alexandria, and Porphyry, to conclude that "hieroglyphics were a real written language, applicable to the purposes of history and common life, as well as those of religion and mythology;" and further, that among the different sorts of hiero-

bridge, to which we are indebted for the facts above stated concerning the author and his work.

glyphics, the Egyptians possessed *those which were used phonetically*, that is, *alphabetically* as letters. Zoega had also conjectured that certain figures of animals, &c., represented *sounds*, and were possibly *letters;* and from the Greek word, *Φωνὴ*, (a voice or articulate sound,) he had applied to them the term phonetic.

It is obvious, as has been remarked by the Marquis Spineto, that to verify this conjecture, three things were indispensable. If these characters were phonetic, the words they expressed could belong to the ancient spoken language of Egypt only; it was therefore indispensable first, to ascertain what was that language, and whether we had any remains of it. Secondly, a considerable number of inscriptions or fac-similes of them was necessary for purposes of comparison. Thirdly, it was indispensable to possess an authentic translation of some one of these ancient Egyptian inscriptions into a language known to modern scholars. Perhaps the difficulty, not to say apprehended impossibility, of finding the happy combination of these three prerequisites, may have led the learned of that day to pay less attention to the conjecture and hint of Zoega and Warburton, than they deserved; and yet it so happened that Providence was gradually bringing together this indispensable combination of circumstances. As to the first, Quatremère produced his work "*sur la langue et litterature de l'Egypte*," and satisfactorily proved, to the surprise even of scholars, that the Coptic was the language of the old Egyptians. The Copts are, in fact, the only direct descendants in Egypt of the primitive race, and until within about a hundred years they still spoke the Coptic tongue, though imperfectly; but the language has been preserved in writing, and has come down to our day. The alphabet in which it is written is the Greek,

with the addition of seven other characters, taken from what is known as the *enchorial* or *demotic* writing, which will be explained hereafter. As we now have it, it came into use in Egypt with the introduction of Christianity; and is still used in the Coptic Christian liturgies. The means of comparison are not wanting in the study of the language, for to this day, the Christians have their liturgy, the pentateuch, and nearly the whole of the Scriptures in the Coptic, accompanied with Greek and Arabic translations. The first desideratum was thus brought within reach. As to the second, the memorable expedition of Napoleon to Egypt furnished that. He was accompanied by the ablest savans of France, and the "*Description de l'Egypte*," which the French government published on their return, placed before Europe such a collection as it had never before seen of fac-similes of inscriptions. In some cases the hieroglyphics were not scrupulously exact copies; but still, a vast amount of valuable material was furnished to the patient decipherer. Egypt was now opened, however, and the various museums of Europe began to be enriched with spoils from the banks of the Nile. There soon ceased to be a want of inscriptions to examine. But the third great element of research, which, in fact, could alone give the stamp of *certainty* to any supposed discovery in interpretation, must also appear. An authentic translation of some ancient Egyptian inscription into a language known to modern scholars, was indispensable. Nothing else was wanting for successful archæological research; and as if to supply the want, the Rosetta stone providentially came forth from its grave to furnish what was needed. The consequences resulting from this important discovery, afford one of the most interesting developments of the progress of the human mind in its patient and laborious search for truth, in

the midst of uncommon difficulties. As a remarkable phenomenon in intellectual history, and an application of ingenuity in overcoming obstacles, it deserves to be studied as a curious chapter in psychology, and we therefore invite attention to it.

CHAPTER II.

Rosetta Stone.—Specimens of the inscriptions.—Dr. Young's discoveries.—De Sacy.—Akerblad.—Champollion le Jeune.—Discovery of homophones.—Sir Gardner Wilkinson's tribute to Champollion.—Exposure of the ignorance of the French savans, by Champollion.

It was in August, 1799, that Bouchard, a French officer of Artillery, in digging at Rosetta for the foundations of a redoubt, found a large stone of black syenite basalt, marked with various characters. Upon closer inspection, it was seen that the stone bore three inscriptions: the upper one was in hieroglyphics, the lowest in *Greek* letters, while that between was in a different character, which it was subsequently found, on reading the Greek text, was therein called *enchorial* or popular. The stone finally found its way to the British Museum, where it now is. Owing to the fracture of the stone, no one of the inscriptions was entire, but still, much the larger part of each was remaining. On its arrival in Europe, its importance as a probable key to interpretation, was at once seen; and the Antiquarian Society caused the inscriptions to be engraved, and generally circulated among the European literati. The French general, Duqua, had also caused a cast of two impressions of the stone to be made at Cairo, and had taken them to Paris. And here one cannot but be struck by the reflection with which Bunsen accompanies his state-

ment of the discovery of this interesting memorial. "This seemingly insignificant stone," says he, "shares with the great and splendid work, 'La Description de l'Egypte,' the honor of being the only result of vital importance to universal history, accruing from a vast expedition, a brilliant conquest, and a bloody combat for the possession of Egypt. That grand conception, the early forecast of a young hero—the colonization of Egypt by Europeans, which Liebnitz had proposed to Louis XIV., and Bossuet, as a passage in his universal history proves, urgently recommended—had wholly failed, and seemed destined to disappear from the page of history, like a stroke upon the waters, without leaving a trace behind it. After a bloody and fruitlessly protracted struggle, upon which millions of treasure and unnumbered hecatombs of human life were sacrificed, the cradle of civilization, the land of monuments, was again unconditionally surrendered to the dominion of barbarians. * * * * * Under these circumstances, we may consider that splendid work on Egypt as a sort of sin-offering for all the blood which has been so vainly shed on her soil."

European scholars, having obtained copies of the inscriptions, directed their attention, as was natural, first to the Greek, which was found, upon translation, to contain a record, or recognition of the highest honors of the Pharaohs in the person of Ptolemy Epiphanes, by the Egyptian priesthood, assembled at Memphis. Its concluding sentence was as follows—"that it may be known that the Egyptians elevate and honor the God Epiphanes Eucharistes in a lawful manner, and that this decree should be engraved on a tablet of hard stone in hieroglyphical, [*sacred characters,*] enchorial, [*common writing of the country,*] and Greek characters, and

should be set up in each of the first, second, and third-rate temples at the statue of the ever living king." The period of time of which the stone records events, is about 196 B. C., and the inscriptions on it furnish, probably, the most extended and important document of the Græco-Egyptian period.* The general impression of the learned is, that the Greek was the original document, and the hieroglyphics and enchorial writing are translations from it. Porson in England, and Heyne in Germany, together with members of the Institute in France, were not long in establishing the proper reading of the Greek text to the satisfaction of scholars; though a *full* philological analysis of all the inscriptions, in the opinion of Birch and other good Egyptian antiquarians, is yet a desideratum. It is obvious however, from what has been stated, that the discovery of this stone advanced the facilities and means of research far beyond any and all the advantages previously possessed. And here, that we may make ourselves more intelligible to the general reader, we subjoin a specimen of the three different inscriptions found on the Rosetta stone; not with the view at present of showing the mode of interpretation, but that a clear perception may be had of the nature of those labors of the learned which we are about to detail.

* Some years ago it was suggested by Mr. Sharpe, and afterward by Mr. Gliddon, that other copies of this stone might be found. Lepsius of Berlin has a fragment from Philæ, containing part of this decree.

Hieroglyphics.

Corresponding Enchorial or Demotic.

Corresponding Greek.

ΣΤΗCΑΙ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΩΝΟΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΓΑΠΗΜΕΝΟΥ ΥΡΟ ΤΟΥ ΦΘΑ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥC ΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤΟΥ.

Thus translated literally from the hieroglyphics into English by Bunsen:

To set up the Statue of Ptolemy the King, ever living; eternal, beloved of Phtha, the apparent God, the best Lord.—[*Epiphanes Eucharistes.*]

After the Greek had been translated, attention was directed to the two Egyptian texts. De Sacy and Akerblad employed themselves on the enchorial or demotic writing; under the erroneous impression, probably, that as it was the best preserved of all the inscriptions, and was moreover the common writing, it would prove the easiest to decipher; while Dr. Young and Champollion may be deemed the first adventurers into the field of hieroglyphical interpretation, though they were not unmindful of the enchorial also. Several incorrect opinions have been enumerated by Bunsen, as retarding the progress of the first attempts. In the first place, it was assumed that the hieroglyphic character was purely symbolic. Zoega had

repudiated such an opinion some time before; but his now verified conjectures seem, at that time, not to have been known by some, and where known, to have been disregarded. Another assumption was, that the enchorial text was purely alphabetical. Hence resulted a third error, viz., that the language in both inscriptions was the same; but that they were written merely in two different ways. It was De Sacy who was the first successful decipherer. He resorted to the plan usually pursued in interpreting any secret writing. The first object in such a work is to ascertain by close examination the number of different signs or characters; next to distinguish the groups or combinations that occur most frequently; and lastly, according to the supposed or ascertained sense of the general purport of the writing, to explain the characters by the words of the language they are supposed to embody. Here, the purport was fully known from the Greek inscription; and it was the natural presumption, in the absence of all proof, that the Coptic was the language embodied in these characters. Quatremêre had, however, satisfactorily shown that it was in substance the language of ancient Egypt. De Sacy saw that the only sure basis of interpretation was to take the proper names occurring in the Greek, and to ascertain, if possible, their equivalents in the Egyptian text. This he did; and in 1802 communicated to Chaptal his discovery of the names of *Ptolemy*, *Berenice*, and *Alexander* in the enchorial writing. Akerblad went further, and in the same year showed, in a letter to De Sacy, that these groups which he had discovered thus expressing proper names, could be decomposed into letters. By means of these groups and thirteen others, he formed an alphabet for nearly all the letters of the enchorial character; but he never suspected, what was

nevertheless true, that beside *letters*, the enchorial used symbolic signs; and beside *symbols*, the hieroglyphic used phonetic signs. These two important facts were the discovery of Dr. Young.

After Akerblad's labors, some time elapsed before any further progress was made. It was not until 1814 that Dr. Young offered his "conjectural translation of the Egyptian inscription of the Rosetta stone." The plan which he pursued, as described by himself, was, in substance, as follows. He first acquired the Coptic language, and adopted Akerblad's alphabet of the enchorial text, suspecting, however, from the beginning, that this writing contained symbolic signs as well as letters. He then commenced comparing *groups* of characters in the Egyptian writing with proper names in the Greek. Thus, finding in the fourth and fourteenth lines of the Greek, the words *Alexander* and *Alexandria*, he found in the second and tenth lines of the demotic inscription, groups which he conjectured were expressive of the same words. He states that he did not trouble himself, by an analysis of the groups, to ascertain the value of each particular character. Again, he observed the occurrence in almost every line of a small group of characters; he naturally concluded that it was either a common termination, or else some common particle. It was finally found to be the conjunction equivalent to our English *and*. He next noticed that a remarkable collection of characters was repeated some thirty times in the inscription; on looking to the Greek, he found the Greek word for *king* repeated about the same number of times; he hence translated the unknown group by that word. So also with the name of Ptolemy and the word Egypt; he compared as before the number of repetitions of these words in the Greek, with

the repetitions of certain combinations of characters in the inscription. His next step was to write the Greek text over the enchorial in such a manner, that what he supposed to be coincident words and passages should be brought into juxtaposition; thus the *intermediate* parts of the respective writings were of course brought near together, and the field of comparison became constantly less. As the result of the whole, he found nineteen letters of Akerblad's, and twelve more of his own, beside a star at the end of proper names. He had also, as he believed, found fifty groups of words, the first three of which were those already indicated by De Sacy, and analyzed by Akerblad: to these followed sixteen words which Akerblad had analyzed, and the residue of the fifty were his own. To these he added one hundred and fifty more, for which he thought he had found the corresponding word in the Greek inscription. Some of these afterward proved to be entirely wrong.

It would be most unjust to an acute, ingenious, and indefatigable mind, to undervalue the discoveries of Dr. Young. If he did not discover the whole art of deciphering the mysterious characters of Egypt, let it be remembered that the merit of complete discovery belongs to no one individual; and that where all were contributors to a common end, no one had, up to the time of Young's discoveries, accomplished as much as he had. He certainly, as Mr. Gliddon has stated, "cast *the first beam of true light* on the method adopted by the Egyptians in their peculiar art of writing." He first positively indicated on the Rosetta stone the name of *Ptolemy*, and on the doorway of Karnac read that of *Berenice*, both in the hieroglyphic characters. He it was who first showed that of the two Egyptian inscriptions, the one, the enchorial, was

"in good measure a corruption, abridgment, or running form of the other." He also is entitled to the merit of having found out the Egyptian mode of writing numbers. But he probably never contemplated the possibility of an entire phonetic alphabet as existing in the *hieroglyphics*. The utmost that he did was to suspect the existence of what he indicates by the vague phrase "a certain kind of syllabic system;" and that some few of the characters were the representatives of letters; he certainly knew nothing of the important fact of the use of what are called *homophones;* that is, of several different signs, which, by means of the initial letter in the name of that which they represent, are made to express the *same sound.** Still it must be admitted that Young prepared the way, in many respects, for Champollion le Jeune; so called, to distinguish him from his elder brother, Champollion-Figeac.

Jean François Champollion would have been deemed, in any age, an extraordinary man. He was born in 1790, and from his earliest youth seemed destined to excel in that department of letters to which he devoted his life. The expedition of Napoleon, led to results which filled his mind with the contemplation of the strange revelations unfolded by a land of wonders. His imagination kindled as he dwelt upon the mysterious symbols which he knew embodied the long lost history of the early civilization of our globe. He found a fascination in the very effort to understand them; and, while yet a boy, at the age of seventeen, he laid before his teachers, as a literary exercise, an outline of a treatise on the ancient geography of Egypt, with an introduction and map. These he presented, as a specimen of the first part of a compre-

* Homophones will be fully illustrated on a future page.

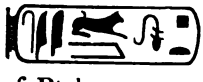
hensive work which he contemplated, on the language, writing, and religion of the ancient Egyptians. The boy who, at the age of seventeen, indulged in such lofty aspirations, and found agreeable mental excitement in the pursuit of such studies as he had adopted, needed but health and opportunity to leave behind him an honored name, and to rear a monument on which the lettered men of future times would look with grateful admiration.

With his MSS. in his hand he presented himself, ere yet he was a man, to the principal scientific men of Paris, and, fostered by the advice and guidance of De Sacy, at the age of twenty, he commenced printing the introduction to his proposed work. It appeared in 1814, when he was twenty-four years old, and contained corrections of, and additions to Akerblad's alphabet, and related the result of his own researches into the Coptic. The grammar and dictionary of that language, which he then projected, maintains to this day its high reputation. But he was travelling over an untried field, where way-marks were few and indistinct at best, and his steps were necessarily slow and toilsome. His enthusiasm, however, sustained him. He was laboring under an error, which he afterward discovered, and magnanimously confessed. Champollion le Jeune proved himself to be a great man, for he was not ashamed to say "I have been wrong." The error alluded to, consisted in his deeming the hieroglyphics to be purely *symbolic*. Out of this error he extricated himself; but not until he satisfied himself that the hieroglyphical was the most ancient form of Egyptian writing, and that, would he succeed, his researches must begin with that. He had devoted time, as Young and others had done, to the enchorial or demotic writing, and had also studied the

hieratic, as it is called, which we will explain presently; but now, leaving these, his whole attention was directed to the hieroglyphics; and it was in this work that he reared for himself an enduring renown.

It is pleasant to remark, in tracing the progress of the human mind in any discovery, the seemingly fortuitous concurrence of circumstances which not unfrequently sheds unexpected light on the path of the discoverer, and without which, to all human seeming, the discovery would, probably, not then have been made. Champollion, in determining to commence with the hieroglyphics, knew full well what others had done. Dr. Young had steadily expressed his belief, that all Egyptian writing originated in the hieroglyphics, and therefore must contain symbolic signs; and not, simply, the alphabetic characters which Akerblad had found in the enchorial inscriptions: this principle he had endeavored to apply to the hieroglyphic names of kings, and had read "*Ptolemy*" and "*Berenice.*" Dr. Young, however, never had explained the method by which he had proceeded. Beyond these particulars, Champollion derived no aid from him. Having, however, from Young's success, become satisfied of the importance of the royal rings containing proper names, he turned to them. It so happened that as early as 1816, Caillaud, the French traveller, who discovered Meroe, had met at the island of Philæ with a small obelisk, which was first discovered by Belzoni. On the pedestal of this obelisk is a Greek inscription, in which occur the names of Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Caillaud made a fac-simile of this inscription; and afterward, an English gentleman, Mr. William Bankes, transported the monument itself to his residence in Dorsetshire, and circulated copies of its hieroglyphic inscriptions among the learned. Both Young and

Champollion were acquainted with this monument. To the latter only was it of any value in interpretation. He observed on it hieroglyphics in a ring, precisely similar to those on the Rosetta stone, which Young had interpreted to mean Ptolemy; the Greek inscription led him to suspect that the other ring must contain the name of Cleopatra. The result of his investigation may best be told in his own words, as contained in a letter to M. Dacier: we prefix copies of the two sets of hieroglyphics to make his letter intelligible.



This hieroglyphic Dr. Young had interpreted, on the Rosetta stone, to be the name of Ptolemy.

Champollion, proceeding on the opinion that the characters within the ring might be, in some instances at least, phonetic or alphabetic, thus felt his way to the truth.

"The first sign of the name of Cleopatra, which represents a kind of quadrant, and which ought to be the letter K, (C)* should not occur in the name of Ptolemy, and it is not there. The second, a crouching lion, which should represent the L, is identical with the fourth of Ptolemy, which is also an L. The third sign is a feather or leaf, which should represent the short vowel E. Two similar leaves may be observed at the end of the name of Ptolemy, which, by their position, must have the sound of E long. The fourth character to the left, represents a kind of flower or root with its stalk bent downward, and should answer to the letter O, and is accordingly the third letter in the name of Ptolemy. The fifth, to the right, is a sort of square, which should represent the letter P, and it is the first in the name of Ptolemy. The sixth,

* The Greek Alphabet has no C in it; K is its substitute.

to the left, is a hawk, which should be the letter A. That letter does not occur in the Greek name Ptolemy, neither does it occur in the hieroglyphic transcription. The seventh is an open hand, representing the T, but this character is not found in the name of Ptolemy, where the second letter, T, is expressed by the segment of a sphere. The eighth sign, a mouth, seen in front, ought to be the letter R, and as that letter does not occur in Ptolemy, it is also absent from his hieroglyphic name. The ninth and last sign, which ought to be the vowel A, is a repetition of the hawk, which has that sound in the sixth. The signs of the feminine on each side of this hawk, terminate the name of Cleopatra; that of Ptolemy ends with a bent stalk, which we conclude to be the letter S."

If the reader as he proceeded has compared the letter with the hieroglyphics, he will have perceived that the ingenuity of Champollion had discovered in the hieroglyphical name of Cleopatra, certain signs, which, if alphabetic, served to express the letters *l, o, p, a, t;* and, that if used for the signs of those letters, they also harmonize very well with the literal spelling of the name of Ptolemy. By means of the two rings, therefore, assuming that these characters were phonetic, he had actually discovered what we should call twelve letters. But how did these palpable images of sensible objects express *letters?* That remained to be discovered: he knew their value as letters, but it was yet to be found out on what principle or rule they were made to have that value. He had observed of one letter T, which occurred in *both* rings, that, in the one it was indicated by the *segment of a sphere*, and in the other by an *open hand.* If the assumption on which he was proceeding were correct, it was obvious that here were *two* signs for the same letter. Instead of hence hastily con-

cluding, as some would have done, that his whole assumption was erroneous, his sagacious mind instantly saw a mode of explanation that removed the difficulty, by the supposition that the principle or rule by which a phonetic value was given to these pictured representations, was the very simple one of taking either the syllable or initial letter of the word, which in the ancient language of Egypt, expressed *the name of the thing represented.* Thus, if he saw a mouth delineated, phonetically it was R, because the word for mouth was *ro.* So of an eagle, it was A, because *Akhom* was the word for eagle. A hand was *Tot;* phonetically, therefore, it became T. Now it was obvious that the names of a great many different objects used in hieroglyphics might begin with the same letter, and hence that letter might be expressed by different signs, as convenience, or a neat arrangement of the writing, or some other cause, might dictate. Here, then, was the mystery of *homophones* laid open. All symbols or characters that phonetically expressed the same letter were homophones; and subsequent and long continued examination and comparison could alone show him whether this system of homophones was limited to a certain number of different objects, or was as extensive as the objects themselves. He found them limited, as will be seen hereafter in the alphabet of hieroglyphics. He had now reached a grand result; he proceeded to verify it by an examination of all the royal rings to which he had access, (the number was large,) and he triumphantly established the fact that he had discovered the long buried secret, and applied the true key, which Young had picked up but never used, to the intricate lock of hieroglyphical interpretation; for he read the names in all the rings he examined. Discarding all other methods, acting on Young's hint, he had sought the key to

an entire system of deciphering in the hieroglyphics alone; that course led to the discovery of the phonetic signs in the royal rings; and that again led to the discovery of the homophones. The work was done, he was on the right path, and he had but to proceed, for the whole hieroglyphic research was now in his hands; and he, whom we saw as the enthusiastic boy of seventeen with his bold but immature speculations, now knew that the name of Champollion le Jeune would not be forgotten until Egypt herself should cease to be remembered.

It is a curious fact that we so frequently find, in the history both of literary and scientific research, the claims of contemporaneous discoverers to be nearly equally balanced. Champollion's reading of the name of Cleopatra in the royal ring on the obelisk of Philæ has already been related, together with his own statement of the ingenuity by which he accomplished it; but the very same thing had been done, as it appears, by Mr. Bankes in 1818, though the fact was unknown to the world until after the publication of Champollion's letter to M. Dacier. The process pursued by Mr. Bankes is fully stated in a long note to a pamphlet on the phonetic system of hieroglyphics, published by Mr. Salt. Champollion, however, was prior in his publication by two or three years, and to him, as Mr. Gliddon has said, "exclusively belongs the merit of putting forth his system at once, and complete beyond all previous anticipation, applicable to every epoch, and to every legend in Egyptian history." Pursuing his investigations, and strictly adhering to the path on which he had entered, Champollion compiled an alphabet of hieroglyphics, and in 1824 gave to the world his magnificent work, "*Precis du Système Hieroglyphique.*" A hieroglyphical dictionary, and an Egyptian

grammar, are also to be enumerated in the list of his labors. At the age of forty-two he died, leaving behind him the merited reputation of having been discoverer, master, and guide in the intricate mysteries of hieroglyphic interpretation.

It would be unjust to one who has himself acquired no small reputation in the field of Egyptian research, to withhold the generous tribute which Sir Gardner Wilkinson has rendered to the merits of Champollion.

"To have had frequent occasion to introduce the name of Champollion, to whom we are so deeply indebted, without paying a just tribute to his talents, is to me a reproach which I cannot suffer to remain unremoved. I do not wish to enter into the question respecting the discovery of the proper mode of reading the hieroglyphics: suffice it to say, that Dr. Young gave the first idea and proof of their alphabetic force, which was even for some time after doubted by Champollion. And that the merit of originality in this point is due to our distinguished countryman, I can bear a satisfactory testimony, having, with my much-regretted friend, Sir William Gell, as early as the summer of 1821, so far profited by Dr. Young's opinions on the subject, as to be enabled to suggest the supposed value of two or three other characters, beside those he had already ascertained; our taking this view of the question being solely in consequence of his discovery *that they were the representatives of letters.* But it remained for the genius of a Champollion to kindle the spark thus obtained into a flame, and to display by its light, the path which led to a clear insight into the subject, to perfect the discovery, and to lay down certain rules, applicable in individual as well as in general cases; and in justice to him be it confessed, that, if our knowledge of hieroglyphics were confined to the limited

extent to which it was carried by Dr. Young, we should have no regular system to guide us in the interpretation of them, and should know little more than the alphabetic value of a few letters, without the means of affixing a positive construction to a single sentence on any Egyptian monument.

"Had Champollion been disposed to give more credit to the value and originality of Dr. Young's researches, and to admit that the real discovery of the *key* to the hieroglyphics, which in his dexterous hand proved so useful in unlocking those hidden treasures, was the result of his labors, he would unquestionably have increased his own reputation, without making any sacrifice. In this, as in the case of Mr. Burton's trilinguar (or rather trigrammatic) stone, and in a few other points, he may have shown a want of ingenuousness: all have their faults and vanities; but this is not a reason that the memory of one so respectable as Champollion should be aspersed, or due praise refused him; and we cannot forgive the ungenerous conduct of those who, from private pique, summon up and misapply talents to pervert truth; denying the merit of labors, which every one, acquainted with the subject, knows to have been crowned with unexampled and wonderful success. This is not an era when we could believe men capable of lending themselves to the unworthy office of maligning one no longer living to defend himself, and one who, present or absent, merits and possesses the respect and admiration of every unprejudiced person. Yet have some been found, in more than one country, prompted to this malicious act by personal enmity, envy of his superior talents and success, or by that affectation of skepticism, which, while it endeavors to conceal ignorance, often hopes to acquire credit for discernment and superior knowledge.

"When the subject of hieroglyphics becomes better understood, and the world is capable of judging how much we owe to him, the wonderful ingenuity of Champollion will be appreciated; and the greatest praise we can bestow on him is confidently to pronounce, that time will do justice to his merits, and experience prove the truth of what inexperience now calls in question."

If we do not dwell upon the works of Rosellini, Salvolini, Lepsius, Bunsen, Wilkinson, Birch, and others, worthy co-laborers or successors in the field which Champollion had opened, it is not from non-appreciation of their merits, but from want of the necessary space in which to do them justice. Suffice it, however, to say, that no point is, at this day, better established, from the labors of the learned, than that the inscriptions found on the decaying monuments and frail papyri of ancient Egypt, are, in many instances, perfectly intelligible; and it is perhaps not too much to hope, that the day will come when men may read, in their own tongues, the translation of *all.*

The statement of an amusing and interesting result that followed upon Champollion's discovery of the reading of the hieroglyphics, will not inappropriately close our narrative of his important and extraordinary labors. Among the monuments which had, in an especial manner, attracted the notice of the French savans who had accompanied Napoleon to Egypt, none had excited more learned controversy than two zodiacs, the one sculptured upon the ceiling of the temple of Dendera, and the other upon that of the temple at Esneh, in upper Egypt. For these monuments there was claimed an extraordinary antiquity, and it was confidently asserted that they completely exploded all Scriptural chronology. M.

Jomard made them at least 3000 years old when the Christian era commenced; while M. Dupuis would not abate a second of 4000 years; and M. Gori was very sure they could not be younger than 17,000 years! "Like birds of the night," (says Osborn,) "hovering over, or perching upon, the uncouth remains of ancient superstition, they filled the air with their dismal forebodings of the downfall of Christianity, or with shrieks of laughter still more revolting, when they thought that their object was accomplished. All these, however, were soon to be put to flight by that of which they professed themselves to be all the while most devoted worshippers—the light of truth."

When Champollion, in the course of his researches into royal rings, came to read that upon the zodiac of Dendera, he found the title of *Augustus Cæsar;* while on that at Esneh, he read the name of *Antoninus.* That temple, therefore, which M. Dupuis had declared to be 4000 years older than the Christian era, proved to have been built about the time of its commencement; and the edifice at Esneh, which had been profoundly demonstrated to be 17,000 years old when the Saviour came, was shown to belong to a period 140 years after his advent. And thus were exposed the pretence of learning and the insolence of arrogance, on the part of a class of men who sought, by bold perversion and confident dogmatism, to distort all that Egypt might reveal, into testimony against the Bible.

CHAPTER III.

Examples of Egyptian writing.—Hieroglyphic.—Hieratic.—Demotic.

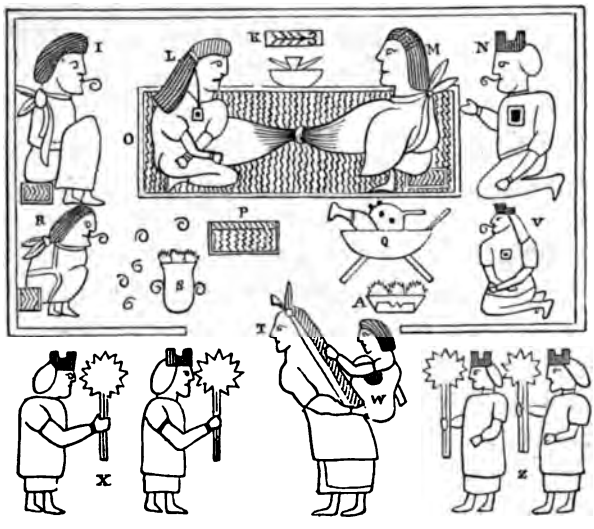
HAVING, in the previous pages, endeavored to give to the general reader a brief outline, presenting an intelligible view of the chief features in the history of hieroglyphic interpretation; it only remains to complete this division of our task by an effort to illustrate, by *examples*, the subject of Egyptian writing. That some of the ancients were not entirely ignorant of the phonetic character of Egyptian writing is certain. We have no evidence, however, that any of them knew how to interpret it. Thus Pliny says, "for those sculptures and likenesses which we see, are *Egyptian letters*."* Porphyry, also, in the "Life of Pythagoras," states that the Egyptians had three different kinds of letters, *epistolographical*, *hieroglyphical*, and *symbolical*. But the most particular account is to be found in Clement of Alexandria. The passage is not without obscurity in some particulars, in others it is direct and plain. We give what seems to be the substance of his meaning, according to the interpretation of Bunsen, who has examined it with great critical care. The English version, as well as the original Greek, may be found in his first volume of "Egypt's place in the World's History." According to Clement, the Egyptians taught, first

* Etenim sculpturæ illæ effigiesque, quas videmus, Egyptiæ sunt literæ.

of all, the method of writing called the *epistolographic;* secondly, the *hieratic*, which the sacred scribes employ; and last of all the *hieroglyphic*. The epistolographic, according to the judgment of the learned, is the same that is sometimes called the *enchorial*, and sometimes, as by Herodotus and Diodorus, the *demotic*. It is necessary to speak of these separately.

I.—HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING.

This was the original mode of Egyptian writing. It has been conjectured by some who have speculated on the origin of the art of writing, (and with how near an approximation to truth the reader can judge for himself,) that the earliest attempt at conveying ideas to the mind, by marks addressed to the eye, is to be found in what is usually termed "picture writing." That such a mode has been resorted to by savage nations, as well as by those more or less advanced in civilization, is undoubtedly true. We know, for instance, that among the Indians, as they are termed in our own country, their rude representations of men, and brutes, and other physical objects, delineated on bark or skins, have been used, and are still, to convey information that is intelligible to their own people. So, too, in Mexico, intelligence of the landing of Cortez was communicated to the capital, by this mode of writing. Indeed, among the Mexicans, it had been carried to an extent much greater than is usually supposed, and is worthy of a more attentive study than it has yet received. It may not be uninteresting to present the reader with a specimen. It is the record of a marriage.



Such events as are here commemorated, were usually brought about by an old woman, who was a species of marriage broker. Here she may be seen (T) carrying the bride (W) on her back to the house of the bridegroom, accompanied by four women (X Z) bearing torches. At the house the bride (L) and the bridegroom (M) are seated on a mat; they are tied together by the corners of their garments, and are distinguishable from each other by the fact of the man's sitting on a stool. Two old women (N V) are sitting at one end of the mat, and two old men (I R) at the other. These are the witnesses. After offering to their gods a perfume of copal, came the marriage feast; there are two kinds of meat (P Q) and some pulse (S), and the cup out of which they were both to drink (A), is also delineated. The witnesses dined after the new married couple. Signs are seen coming from the mouths of the four witnesses; these are tongues, signifying *speech.*

Here they import the advice which it was usual for the aged witnesses to give to the new married couple.

Here it will be remarked that every thing delineated is but the sign of some sensible object. The imagination, added to a knowledge of Mexican marriage customs, makes the rude picture intelligible; but it conveys no *sound* of letter or word; it merely tells to the eye a story, which, though perfectly intelligible to every ancient Mexican, would not probably be read off or translated by any two into precisely the same language. It is not at all improbable, in the view of the Chevalier Bunsen, that the first writing of the Egyptians was of this pictorial character; though he thinks that the fact is not to be proved *from the monuments.* He deduces it from the essential nature and requisites of a figurative character, and a comparison of them with the individual elements of the system of hieroglyphical writing, as they are now known to exist.

According to Clement there were three modes of expressing ideas by hieroglyphic characters, all being the representations of physical objects, more or less exact.

I. The idea might be conveyed by direct imitation; that is, by a picture of the object intended to be expressed. Thus, the picture of a man denotes a man, and that of a horse, a horse.

II. By a symbolic or enigmatic use of the pictures of objects: that is, by the representation of one object conveying an idea of another. Thus, the relation of a son is designated by an egg, a goose, an eye, or a seed germinating, . We do not now stop to ask *why* these signs indicate this relation, or *how* the fact that they do so was discovered; our object is, at present, simply to illustrate

one of the modes of using the hieroglyphic symbols. It verifies Clement's remark, as quoted by Bunsen, that "they apply pictorial signs to objects of different import, and bring them, as it were, under another category, (*i. e.*, transfer them or express them metaphorically, as we should describe it,) for they sometimes interchange them, at others modify them in various ways.'

Under this species of hieroglyphic writing, there were, as is stated very perspicuously by Mr. Gliddon, *four* different modes of expression, viz.:

1st. A part was sometimes put for the whole; as, for instance, the head of a ram or goose was delineated instead of the whole animal. This was doubtless an abridgment of convenience merely.

2d. Sometimes the cause was put for the effect; for example, a month was expressed by a crescent, (the sign of the moon,) with its horns pointing *downward*, to indicate that it had passed through one of its regular periods—a lunation was ended. Sometimes again, the effect was put for the cause; a column of smoke ascending from a stove, meant fire. Sometimes, too, the labor done was symbolized by the instruments which had been used in its performance: thus, writing was expressed by the implements necessary to the scribe, viz., the reed, ink vessel, and tablet grouped into one symbol.

3d. Sometimes the idea was expressed by metaphor purely. Thus, a *vulture* represented a mother, because this bird was supposed by the Egyptians to nourish its young with its own blood. A *bee* meant a king, because of the real or supposed monarchical government under which that insect lived. It is perhaps worthy of investigation whether this use of hieroglyphics is not comparatively modern, and whether it be not

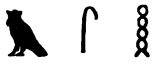
the "secret character" to which Clement alludes, and of which the work of Horapollo, before mentioned, furnishes numerous specimens. Certain it is, that many of the interpretations of Horapollo are not sustained by the ancient monuments or by the Book of the Dead, and Bunsen remarks of them that most of his explanations are little better than arbitrary subtleties or false cabalistic mysticism; and that most of his hieroglyphics are borrowed from the "secret characters," and consequently do not apply to the monuments or books.

4thly. Sometimes the hieroglyphic symbol conveyed its meaning by an enigma. Thus the Ibis stood for the god THOTH, because of some fancied mystical connection between the bird and the god; so also with other emblems of Egyptian divinities. The lotus flower indicated Upper Egypt, a roll of papyrus Lower Egypt.

III. Clement states distinctly that the hieroglyphic characters, in addition to the two modes of conveying ideas already described, were used also to express *letters* (though he does not tell us *how* they did it); and this brings us to the consideration of their most interesting use as phonetics, or the signs of sound. If the modern reader were merely informed that the ancient Egyptians possessed an alphabet, which had been recently discovered, he would doubtless conclude, from his acquaintance with what are known to him as alphabets, that a certain set of seemingly arbitrary linear characters, to which were attached certain sounds of vowels and consonants, was what had been brought to light. He certainly never would divine, from the announcement, that a very numerous set of pictures of common objects had been most ingeniously made to convey, each, the simple sound of a letter, often without the slightest reference to the character or purposes of the object delineated. He

would be much perplexed, for instance, to know why the picture of an *owl* should be M, or that of a *hand* should indicate a T. When the principle of Egyptian phonetics is explained, the wonder vanishes; and though the modern reader may justly think the plan complicated, he will also see that it is quite certain and intelligible in its application. The governing principle in the phonetic system is the simple one hinted at in the last chapter; viz., that a sound is represented by the pictorial image of some physical object; and that the mode of knowing *what* sound is meant, is to take the *name* of the object represented, in the colloquial idiom of the ancient Egyptians, and the *initial* letter or articulation of that name, is the sound or letter indicated. But an example is the best illustration of this principle, and none better can be made than that which is furnished to our hand by Mr. Gliddon in his first published lectures.

	The tuft of a reed, called	*Ake*,	stood for	A.	
	An eagle,	"	*Akhom*,	"	A.
	A field,	"	*Koi*,	"	K.
	A cap,	"	*Klapht*,	"	K.
	An owl,	"	*Mooladj*,	"	M.
	A mouth,	"	*Ro*,	"	R.
	A beetle (scarabeus),	"	*Thore*,	"	TH.
	An egg,	"	*Soohe*,	"	S.
	A hand,	"	*Tot*,	"	T.
	A lion,	"	*Labo*,	"	L.
	A water tank,	"	*Sheei*,	"	SH.

Now to apply our alphabet; let us suppose an ancient Egyptian desirous of writing phonetically what we call 'crocodile.' He would give us the following characters:  The first is an owl, the second is the back of a chair, and the third is a twisted cord. The owl is called in the ancient language *mulag*, or as some write it, *mooladj;* this furnishes us with the initial M; so the initial of the next sign gives us S, while that of the last furnishes H. Placing the three together, we have *m s h;* supply the vowel, as is necessary in oriental languages generally, (for in the Semitic tongues it is frequently omitted,) and you get the word *msuh*, which is one of the Egyptian names for the crocodile.

Now it will be at once perceived that, as very many words must commence with the same letter, if *any* word may be taken to express, phonetically, its initial, there is danger of confusion; and hence it became important to ascertain how far this system of phonetic objects extends. Upon examination, the number of objects used in the Egyptian writing, was found to be limited. All objects that express the same initial letter are, as we have said, called *homophones;* from the Greek words implying the *same sound.* After the discovery of those objects which were ordinarily used phonetically, the way was open for the construction of a phonetic alphabet.

For the purpose of illustration merely, we subjoin such an alphabet. It should, however, be remarked, that upon the establishment of Christianity in Egypt, the ancient system of writing, from its supposed connection with idolatry, was laid aside, and the translations of the Bible and other religious books into the language of the country, were written in Greek characters. There were, however, six sounds in Egyptian,

which did not occur in Greek, and for these, characters were borrowed from the ancient enchorial writing. They were the following:

Ancient Enchorial.	As adopted.	Pronunciation.
ϣ	ϣ	sh.
ϒ	ϒ	F.
ϫ	ϫ	ch. guttural.
ϩ	ϩ	H.
ϫ	ϫ	J.
ϭ	ϭ	SH.

These, with the ordinary Greek letters, make up what is called the Coptic alphabet; and it has been the custom to use these in translations from the hieroglyphics. Chevalier Bunsen, however, in his late work, discards them, with the remark that "the Latin alphabet, with the addition of two Greek forms, is amply sufficient for the purpose of a correct transcript. The plan hitherto adopted of transcribing, or rather rendering ancient Egyptian words into Coptic, is quite unphilological and unscientific. There is no harmony between the Coptic alphabet with its great variety of letters, and the fifteen simple sounds of the Egyptian." We shall, as being more intelligible to the general reader, use t e Roman letters.

It should be remarked also that the Egyptian resembles the Hebrew, Arabic, and other oriental languages, in the great uncertainty of its vowels. The same word is frequently written with a different vowel. Thus the Coptic word signi-

A. Ē. Ĕ. Ō. Ŏ.	
B.	
K.	
SK.	
T. TH. D.	
L. R.	
M.	
N.	
P. PS.	
S.	
G. Dk. Sk.	
PH. F. U.	
H. KH. SH.	
SH.	
H.	

ALPHABET OF HIEROGLYPHICS.

fying "to wrap up" or "to fold," is written *kal*, *kel*, *kol*, *kōl*, without any change in the sense. Sometimes no vowel is used, as in *tb*, "a brick:" it is read *tobi*.

The question may perhaps be asked, whether there be any rule for the selection of homophones? There seems to be none which is always discoverable; sometimes the selection seems to have been made for the sake of mere symmetry of arrangement; though in some instances it appears to have been made on the principle of employing a figure which, while it expressed the desired *letter*, conveyed also to the mind the idea of some quality belonging to the object of which it was the picture, and applied it to the person or thing whose name was phonetically delineated. An example will illustrate this; and a good one is furnished in the Lectures of the Marquis Spoleto. Suppose the word to be expressed in phonetics to be *London:*

L.—We might here take the figure of a *lion*, *lamb*, *leaf*, *lancet*, or any other object that would supply us with the initial L.

O.—We might take the picture of an *oak*, *ox*, *owl*, &c.

N.—A *net*, *negro*, *north-star*, *nave* of a temple, would all furnish us with the desired initial.

D.—Here we might select from the figure of a *dromedary*, *dagger*, *deck* of a ship, or even the whole ship to signify the deck.

What shall guide us in the choice? London is the capital of a powerful, maritime people, and a lion is the emblem on the national standard. Our selection shall be made then with reference to these facts.

L.—We take the *lion;* it denotes strength, and is the national emblem also.

O.—We take the *oak;* its value in ship building is well known, and we are writing of a maritime people.

N.—We take a fishing *net* or the *north-star*, because these also are appropriate to a seafaring people.

D.—A ship or the *deck* of a ship, is obviously the proper selection.

Hence the word London would be hieroglyphically delineated by a *l*-ion, *o*-ak, *n*-et, *d*-eck, (*o* not repeated, on the principle of omitted vowels,) *n*-orth-star.

Another ingenious illustration of this mode of selecting homophones is furnished by Mr. Gliddon in his Lectures. He takes the word America, and thus proceeds:

A.—We might select one out of many more or less appropriate symbols; as an *asp*, *apple*, *altar*, *amaranth*, *anchor*, *archer*, *arrow*, *antelope*, *axe*. I choose the *asp*, symbolic of sovereignty.

M.—We have a *mace*, *mast*, *mastiff*, *moon*, *mouse*, *mummy*, *musket*, *maize*. I select the *mace*, indicative of "military dominion."

E.—An *ear*, *egg*, *eagle*, *elk*, *eye*. The *eagle* is undoubtedly the most appropriate, being the national arms of the Union, and it means "courage."

R.—A *rabbit*, *ram*, *racoon*, *ring*, *rock*, *rope*. I take the *ram*, by synechdoche placing a part for the whole, emblematic of frontal power—*intellect*—and sacred to Amun.

I.—An *insect*, *Indian*, *infant*, *ivy*. An *infant* will typify the juvenile age and still undeveloped strength of this great country.

C.—A *cake, caldron, cat, clam, carman, constellation*, &c. I choose the *cake*, the *consecrated bread*—typical of a *civilized* region.

A.—An *anchor*, or any of the words beginning with A, would answer, but there is no such hieroglyphic as an anchor. I take the sacred *Tau*, the symbol of "eternal life," which in the alphabet is A.

To designate that a *country* is meant, I add the sign in Coptic "Kah," meaning a country. We thus obtain phonetically,

Country.

The characters expressed are "sovereignty, military dominion, courage, intelligence, youth, civilization, and perpetuity."

This may serve as an illustration of the principle; but as the *vowels* are generally omitted in hieroglyphic writing, the word would be written with the three consonants, "M. R. C.," and the sign for "country."

Another marked characteristic of this species of writing consisted in the use of what are called *determinatives*. They are used on the monuments very extensively and ingeniously. The use of a determinative consists simply in appending to the word, after it is written in phonetic hieroglyphics, a picture of the genus to which the object expressed by the word belongs. This is one of Champollion's discoveries. Thus, for instance,

after the word *cattle*, written in phonetic hieroglyphics *mn-mn*, it was followed by the picture of a cow. After the name of the divinity Amon, A, M, N, followed the representation of a sculptured idol. It has been made a question among the learned whether this suffix of a "determinative," was invented before or after the use of phonetics. Bunsen expresses the opinion, that "those generic signs, *before* the invention of phonetics, were in very many cases quite indispensable. Hence they came to be adopted in writing, and the practice was still retained, even after the phonetic character had rendered pictorial representations unnecessary, and in cases, such as those alluded to, absolutely superfluous."

There is frequently much ingenuity, and no small value (to the decipherer at least), in this use of determinatives of genus or class. Groups of characters and phonetic values are sometimes, with this aid, ascertained with absolute certainty; and they are applied to verbs as well as nouns. For example, the verb "to sculpture" or "to build," is written , the fourth character, a mason's trowel, is a determinative; to weep, *rima*, is written , the last character is a determinative, an eye shedding tears; "to distribute" or "to equalize," is written , and nothing can be more significant than the determinative here, which is the plumb-line used in masonry. Sometimes the determinative of the verb is the instrument or means of the action expressed: thus, *shar*, to strike down or wound severely, is hieroglyphically expressed as follows: ; the determinative is a man down, having an axe buried in his skull. Sometimes the verb was determined by pictures of visible objects, supposed to have some peculiar

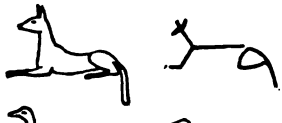
quality similar to that which the verb was meant to denote. Thus "to be angry," has for a determinative an ape, because he is a very irascible animal: "to blush" or "to be red," is determined by a flamingo, a scarlet bird. The principle was carried further still; it was applied sometimes to the pronouns. "The pronoun of the first person, whether used either as the subject or object of the verb, or in the possessive form with the substantive, is frequently determined" (says Osborn), "by a picture of the person speaking, which on obelisks and other monuments elaborately finished, is a portrait." This may have led to the erroneous opinion of some that all the faces of great personages on the monuments are portraits. But as our object is simply to furnish the reader with some general idea of the singular graphics of the ancient dwellers in Egypt, and not to elucidate the grammatical structure of their language, we will not longer dwell on the subject of determinatives.

It remains to speak of one other species of symbol used in hieroglyphical writing, which was discovered by the acute mind of Champollion. It arises from a peculiarity in the ancient Egyptian language, said to resemble one in the Chinese, viz., the employment of the same sound to express many different ideas. Thus, a hatchet, named *Ter*, is one of the commonest symbols of "God or Divine Being," because that idea was denoted by the same sound, Ter. The weaver's shuttle is the symbol of the goddess Neith, because in the ancient language, *neth* was the word that meant shuttle. The idea of a physician is often represented by a duck; the name of the duck was *cein*, the Egyptian word for physician was *ceini*. As to the mode of writing the hieroglyphics, it was sometimes vertical and sometimes horizontal; it might be from

left to right, or from right to left; the latter was, perhaps, the more usual. The reading always commences from that end of the line to which the animals that may be delineated are represented as looking. It should also be remarked, that the hieroglyphics themselves may be *pure* or *linear :* thus

Pure. Linear.

Reed—phonetically A.

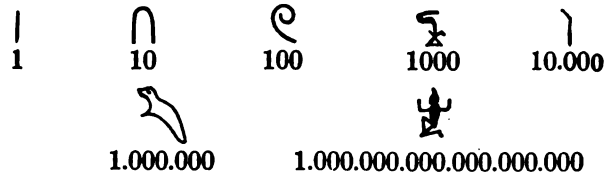


Jackal—symbolically a *priest.*

Goose—phonetically S, symbolically *offspring.*

The pure class was always used in sculpture and painting; the linear was more common in ordinary life and in the literature of the earlier periods.

The system of *numeration*, which was discovered by Dr. Young, yet remains to be explained. The hieroglyphical numerals are as follows:



1 10 100 1000 10.000

1.000.000 1.000.000.000.000.000.000

The units are expressed by a stroke, but in groups, thus:

4 as 2 + 2.

5 as 3 + 2.

6 as 3 + 3.

7 as 3 + 4.

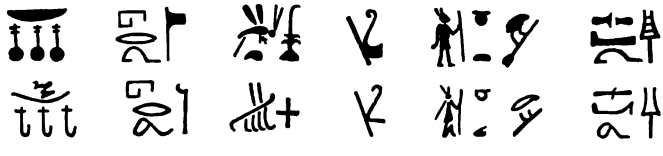
8 as 4 + 4.

9 as 3 + 3 + 3.

To this we have only to add that the names of kings are always written in hieroglyphics, in a ring, or as the French call it, in a *cartouche;* and now, with the hope that what has been said will suffice to give the reader a correct general idea of the hieroglyphic writing, we proceed to consider,

II.—HIERATIC WRITING.

This is a running form of hieroglyphics, and differs from that system chiefly in the more frequent substitution of what may be considered *alphabetic* characters for pictured objects. In many instances, however, the transition from the picture to the letter is plain. As an illustration of this, we subjoin part of the sixth line of the hieroglyphical inscription on the Rosetta stone, with the same text below, in hieratic characters, as drawn up by Lepsius.



Clement of Alexandria informs us that this character was peculiar to the priests, hence it was called hieratic. It is found in the papyri which have been discovered in the tombs of Egypt. Some of these papyri contain but repetitions, more or less abbreviated, of the great funeral "ritual" or Book of the Dead, to which we have already alluded. Of this book, Lepsius has published a copy, which plainly shows that its characters were frequently but linear copies of the sculptured hieroglyphics of the monuments. Some of the papyri that have

been found contain genealogies of kings, revenues of temples, &c.; while another class gives details of the expeditions and foreign conquests of the ancient kings of Egypt. As, however, this mode of writing formed part of the instruction of the priestly order only, it never (says Bunsen) could have held more than the second place in the educational system of the Egyptians.

III. THE ENCHORIAL OR DEMOTIC WRITING.

This is what Clement called the epistolographical. Of this we have already given a specimen on a previous page;* and we have now to add that, in the opinion of Bunsen, this also is derived directly from the hieroglyphic, though some have supposed it to proceed from the hieratic. He supposes this character to have been popularly used for the purposes of common life; and explains the fact of two different modes of writing, viz., the hieratic and demotic, having been derived, independent of each other, from the hieroglyphics as a common source, by the circumstance that the first sprang from the Theban dialect, and the latter from the Memphitic, between which there were fundamental differences. It seems, however, to be certain, that whatever may have been its source, the enchorial or demotic writing is comparatively modern, and probably made its appearance on the decline of the arts in Egypt. It is believed that no document in this character has been yet found of a date anterior to that of the Ptolemies; and this in Egypt may be considered modern.

* Ante, p. 35.

CHAPTER IV.

Climate of the valley of the Nile.—Extreme dryness.—General appearance of Egyptian ruins.—Temples, tombs.—Arts of design in ancient Egypt.—Principal localities on the Nile.

It may serve to make more intelligible what follows, to advert here to the general appearance of the Egyptian ruins, the arts of design as exhibited in painting and sculpture, and the climate of the valley of the Nile. We must therefore detain the reader for a short time with the consideration of these.

Egypt is a valley lying between two ranges of mountains, that extend from south to north; and is bounded also, on three of its sides, by deserts. The mountains are of no great elevation; on the east are the deserts of Arabia, interrupted only by the comparatively narrow waters of the Red Sea; while on the south and west stretches out the vast expanse of sand known as the Libyan desert, reaching on the south into the heart of Africa, and on the west, to the shores of the Atlantic. The position of Egypt, therefore, is marked by a striking peculiarity. It is in the centre of the largest tract of uninterrupted sterility and sand, on the face of our globe; and, as one of the consequences of its position, rain in Lower Egypt (which is the only Egypt spoken of in the Mosaic history) is generally said to be altogether unknown. It has,

MEDITERRANEAN
Heliopolis or On
P of Geezeh
Cairo
Memphis
P. of Saqqara
P. of Dashoor
Benisooef
Beni Hassan
SAID OR UPPER EGYPT
Girgeh
Abydus
Dendera
Tombs at Thebes
Thebes
Karnac
Luxor
Esneh
Edfou
Koom Ombos
Syene
now E' Sooan
NUBIA
Gerf Hossain
Aboo Simbel

however, been known to fall near the shores of the Mediterranean; this, however, is rare. Even in the Thebaid, or Upper Egypt, where it has sometimes fallen, its appearance is so rare, that the occurrence is deemed very remarkable.

This valley which we have described is, throughout its whole length, traversed by the river Nile; which, rising in the regions south of ancient Egypt, holds on its course northwardly, and empties its waters into the Mediterranean. To this river Egypt is indebted for its wondrous fertility. Ordinarily the waters of the river are somewhat muddy; and yet the universal testimony, both of natives and foreigners, bears witness to the pleasantness and salubrity of the water. Place the Egyptian where you will, there is no physical enjoyment of his country which memory oftener recalls, or for which he pines with more irrepressible longing, than for the waters of his beloved river. Regularly, every year, about the time of the summer solstice, (June 21,) the waters of the Nile suddenly change their appearance, and become red and turbid, being highly charged with fine black alluvial matter washed down by the torrents from the table lands of Abyssinia. They begin gradually to rise within the banks of the stream until about the middle of July, when they overflow them; and as the surface of the valley is convex, and the river runs as it were in a furrow over the highest part, it will be seen that a beautiful provision is thus made by nature for watering a region, that otherwise would be utterly barren. About the 20th of August, the valley presents the appearance of a great inland sea, spotted over with villages and towns. Causeways that have been laid on ridges or mounds erected for the purpose, furnish the only means of land communication between them.

Appearance during an Inundation.

About the period of the autumnal equinox the waters begin to subside, and before the end of November, the river is once more within its banks. The skill and industry of the inhabitants have for years been employed to increase, by artificial aids, this periodical season of natural irrigation. By canals and embankments, and in former times, by artificial lakes of almost incredible size, they have sought to lose not the smallest advantage that could be derived from the increase of the waters.

Another remarkable feature in Egypt is the extraordinary dryness of the atmosphere. The question has sometimes been asked, how it has been possible that the monuments of this ancient nation should have survived the touch of time for so many centuries, and, though dilapidated in some degree, should yet present to the eye of the traveller,

"A noble wreck, in ruinous perfection,"

so widely different from the architectural memorials of the past, to be found in the tropical regions of our own Central America and Yucatan? The burning sands of the almost boundless deserts have abstracted, from the atmosphere of Egypt, the great physical agent in the decomposition of matter,—moisture. Hence but little corrosion of the monuments,

but little obliteration of the paintings, is found. When injury has been sustained from natural causes, it has been produced by other physical agencies than those of moisture: the sand has sometimes done its work of destruction. Thus, among the ruins of Alexandria, an obelisk is still standing, which, on its north and east faces, retains much of the freshness and sharpness of its original chiselling; while on the other two sides, the sands of the desert, which have been beating against them for several hundred years, have partially, effaced the inscriptions. In any other country than Egypt, the whole would, probably, long since have been destroyed. A few years ago, the French transported an obelisk from Luxor, and raised it in Paris; and though the material is granite, and though for many centuries it had stood uninjured in its original position; yet it has already been found necessary to cover it with a liquid preparation of caoutchouc, to protect it from the corrosive effects of the atmosphere in Paris.

There are temples in Egypt which have been roofless for 2,000 years; their walls are covered with paintings. The colors are still distinctly perceptible, and in many instances, retain all their original freshness. It is not strange, then, that the sculptured stone should remain, often with the polish undimmed that it received from the hands of the workmen, many hundreds of years ago. Such is at this moment the case with fragments of temples, the demolition of which falls within the historic period, as it is known they were destroyed by Cambyses, 500 years before the Christian era. The same freshness, the same strange union of seeming youth with acknowledged age, is also to be seen in some of the cavern temples and tombs, excavated in the sides of the mountains. At Aboo-simbul, in Nubia, the white of the walls is unstained

by any touch of time's finger; the outlines of the figures never could have been sharper, the colors of the paintings never more vivid, than they are now. Indeed, it is said, that when one comes to that part where the tracings and outlines show that this great work was never finished, he is almost cheated into the illusion that it is still in progress, and that the workmen have but temporarily suspended their labors; so fresh is the appearance of the portion that is completed. But for the peculiarities of climate, we should probably at this day have few or no memorials of Egypt, to which we could turn, for the study of her history and progress in the arts of civilized and social life. For the last 1600 years these venerable and interesting ruins have been utterly neglected by the inhabitants; no Egyptian hand has been extended to prevent the wantonness of destruction, or stay the ravages of dilapidation. The marvel is, that any thing remains to be destroyed. Egypt has passed through strange vicissitudes since the erection of the pyramids of Ghizeh. An ancient monarchy has crumbled into ruins, repeated conquests have placed over her many foreign masters, civil wars have thinned her population, few of her ancient stock are left. In the circumstances that must have attended national calamities like these, it had not been strange, had almost every architectural or pictorial vestige of the past been lost to the world for ever. Is it superstitious to suppose that there may have been a Providence in their preservation? Is it a presumptuous interpretation of the purpose of God in his providence, to observe that an inquiring, searching spirit, demanding the proof of every thing, predominates in the minds of men at the present day; and from thence to infer the importance of this opening of a new and hitherto unexplored field of inquiry, and the

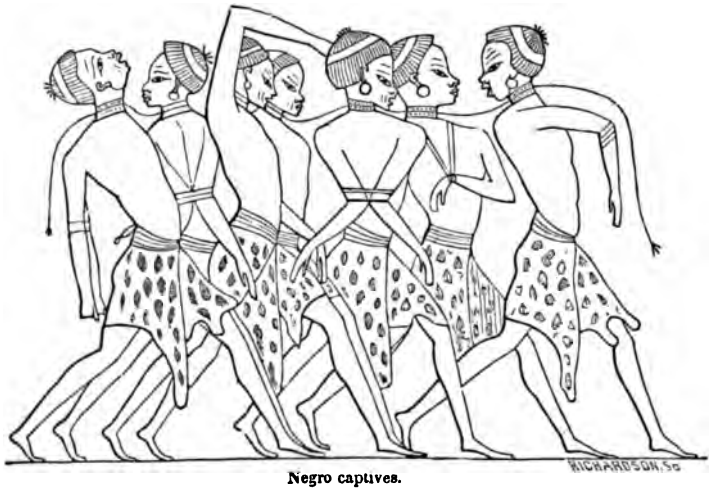
value of a powerful array of unanswerable evidence in favor of the Scriptures, which doubtless will be obtained from it? May it not be, that the real and true "philosophy of this age will be the instrument in God's hands wherewith he will oppose its infidelity?"*

The remains of former grandeur in this most interesting country, consist chiefly of edifices connected with religious ceremonies, and of places for civil assemblies. A few words of explanation on these may prove useful. There was scarce a city of note in Egypt which had not its temple, or, as it has been well termed by some, palace-temple, serving at once for the residence of the monarch and for the place consecrated to the rites of religion, or appropriated to important civil assemblies. On these ruins are found sculptured reliefs, which are generally colored, and have some reference to the false god of Egyptian mythology, in whose honor they were erected. This pagan divinity is commonly represented as receiving the homage of the king by whom the edifice was founded. This representation was usually delineated on the *propyla*, or two truncated pyramids, which stood, one on either side of the grand entrance, and served in the translation of its reliefs and hieroglyphics, as a sort of *title-page* to what was within. An example is afforded in the view of Luxor, annexed. In the interior, by means both of sculpture and of large paintings on the walls, the battles, sieges, marches, triumphs, &c., of the king were delineated. The spoils obtained by the victor often furnished, as it is supposed, a part at least of the means employed in the erection of the edifice. The halls in the interior are sometimes very large, as at Thebes, for instance,

* Osborn.

where there are some six, hundred feet in length, and half that distance in breadth, supported by massive columns twelve feet in diameter, and sixty-six feet high, placed at regular intervals throughout the area of the apartment. The walls, pillars, &c., are covered with colossal sculptures of deities, kings, priests, religious processions, &c., while on the walls similar scenes are delineated in lively paintings. Some idea may be formed of part of the interior of one of these halls by the frontispiece to this volume.

In the representations of triumphs, the costume, and peculiarities of color and feature, among the captives of different nations, are carefully preserved, and often render essential aid in deciphering the sculptured history of the event commemorated. Of this we shall have occasion to speak more particularly hereafter. In almost all the representations of conquests, the king is represented as marching in triumph to the temple, and dragging long lines of captives, fastened by the neck, and



Negro captives.

NEW-YORK, GEO. P. PUTNAM SARONY & MAJOR, LITH. N.Y.

INTERIOR OF A TOMB.

with limbs distorted by being bound in the most painful positions. These reliefs are always accompanied by *hieroglyphic inscriptions* explanatory of the scene, and are indispensable in attaining to a correct understanding of the representation. The neglect of them has led to some strange errors. The sculptured representations of kings invariably have their names written over them, and commonly inscribed within an oval or *cartouche.* The names of the foreigners with whom they were at war, of towns they were besieging, as well as of the captives they are leading, are usually written in the hieroglyphics: sometimes the date of the erection of the edifice, and of the king by whom it was built, may be read. These dates are expressed by such a month in such a year of the monarch's reign.

The tombs of Egypt furnish also not only abundant evidence of her former grandeur, but also very valuable subjects of study to the antiquarian. In Upper Egypt, rocky mountains form the western boundary of the valley of the Nile. In these, immense caverns were cut, with incredible labor, as receptacles for the dead. In Lower Egypt, where no mountains exist, deep pits were dug, and lined with brick; or, where rock existed, they were dug into the rock, as places of interment. Nothing presents itself in the study of the manners and customs of ancient Egypt, as developed in her existing remains, more striking than the respect shown to the dead. Diodorus has remarked, that the Egyptians spent more upon their tombs than they did upon their houses. Some of the cemeteries are filled with the remains of the common people. These are not always in coffins, but, enveloped in the folds of the linen with which they were swathed, they are piled in the mummy pits with great regularity. They were all embalmed,

and the number is immense. Again, there are the family vaults of the wealthy, the priesthood, the military, &c. These are sometimes very extensive, consisting of various rooms connected by galleries, with the walls of the apartments covered with paintings. The scenes delineated most commonly have reference to the operations of ordinary life. The deceased is represented with his family around him; sometimes they are at the banquet, sometimes listening to music, or amusing themselves with the dance. Again, he is seen in the country, hunting, fowling, or fishing; next, he is superintending agricultural labors. In short, almost every species of mechanical trade is depicted in the tombs: all are scenes of activity, and it has been well said, that "every thing in them savors of life, but the corpse." The predominant wish seems to have been, to banish from them all that could suggest the idea of death; and the only explanation that offers itself of this singular custom is, that the proprietor of the tomb employed himself, while living, in the preparation for his posterity of what may be called a pictorial autobiography. But the aristocratic dead of these costly resting-places, unlike the poor, whose swathed mummies are packed in tiers, sleep in their respective sarcophagi of granite, basalt, or alabaster, sculptured over with figures and inscriptions, which it is charitable to suppose are at least as truthful as the majority of modern epitaphs. These stone coffins, it was doubtless supposed by their occupants, would protect their bodies, after death, from an unhallowed disinterment; but the very care taken to secure their remains from violation has often led to the desecration against which they would guard. The linen bandage around the common mummy of the pits offered nothing to the decipherer, while the inscriptions on the sarcophagus afforded to the zealous antiqua-

rian an opportunity not to be neglected, of adding characters to his hieroglyphic alphabet, or words to his Egyptian vocabulary. Many of the cabinets of Europe can show fragments of sarcophagi; few take the trouble to preserve many specimens of the common mummy of the pit. Sometimes these wealthy dead were coffined in a wooden case, or double case, of sycamore, covered with gilding and painting. These, as they offered the same temptation as the inscribed sarcophagus, have often shared the same fate. But the tombs contain beside the dead, other articles, the removal of which involves no charge of desecration. With the dead it was usual to deposit, in the tombs, articles of luxury on which they had set a value while living; and in the case of the humble artisan, the tools or utensils which he used in life, were laid with him when he rested from his toil. Hence various objects of interest have been found in the tombs. Elegant vases of granite, alabaster, metal, and earth are abundant in the various museums of Europe. The tools of the mason and carpenter, articles of household furniture, models of boats and houses, the pallets used by the sacred scribes, with their cakes of ink and reed pens or brushes, with various other articles, are by no means uncommon. Books written on rolls of the papyrus (made from the inner coat of a species of reed once abundant on the canals and lakes of Egypt, though now rarely to be met with) are also found, sometimes inclosed in the swathings of the mummy, sometimes in hollow cases of wood or in earthen jars.

It has thus happened, that though we have no continuous written history of ancient Egypt, yet, from a combination of unusual circumstances, we actually know more of the details of every-day life among its ancient people, than we do of such

particulars in any other nation of antiquity. These details have already served to elucidate such fragments of their history as are contained in the imperfect accounts of the Greek writers; and we trust they will be found also to confirm and elucidate the more accurate accounts that we have, in the sacred writings, of another and not less interesting people.

In inspecting the specimens of sculpture and painting presented in the remains of ancient Egypt, one is forcibly struck with the manifold defects to be found generally, alike in the design and execution; and these are the more surprising, when occasionally some specimen is met with confessedly of high merit, as exhibiting practised artistic skill. It is observable also, that these better specimens are delineations of something other than the human figure. Perhaps a reason for this may, to a certain extent, be found in a consideration of the purpose to which the Egyptians applied the arts of design. The effort was not with them, as with the Greeks, (from whom modern art is derived,) to speak through the eye to the imagination; theirs was the more matter-of-fact business of addressing the understanding. They were not seeking the beautiful, but the useful merely. Clement of Alexandria says truly that an Egyptian temple was γράμμα, "a writing;" and grace was not the prime object of the manuscript. The painting and sculpture of Egypt were meant, then, simply to convey facts, or what it was intended should be considered facts. The characters by which they sought to do it were but visible and often rude imitations of sensible objects; the heavenly bodies, men, brutes, birds, fishes, dress, furniture, &c.

In fulfilling their design, therefore, it was more important to convey the idea correctly and avoid mistakes, than it was to produce a finished work of art. Hence the representation

of the human figure seldom affords proof of elaboration in its execution; a very rude sketch was sufficient to show that nothing but man could be meant by it; commonly the face and lower limbs are in profile, while the body is presented with its full front; proportion also is sometimes utterly neglected. In fact, the rough drawing served but to *spell* the word *man*, while the hieroglyphics above it, informed him who could read them, who or what the man was. But in the very same picture, perhaps, containing a rough sketch of the human figure, birds, or other objects would be represented, drawn with great spirit, and colored with a minute attention to nature. Accuracy of delineation was resorted to when such accuracy was necessary to guard against mistakes, and it was therefore required to show the species of the bird represented. All that the artist sought was to convey an idea with precision, and in doing this he could call in the aid of hieroglyphics, both symbolic and phonetic. It was perhaps strange that he did not think of using either painting or hieroglyphics separately, to accomplish his object; but so it was that, using both, he could effect his purpose, and he consequently made no effort at improvement. It must not, however, be supposed that there was entire absence of artistic skill in the Egyptians, when they found an occasion for its exercise. There are not wanting statues executed by them, in which the anatomical proportions of the human figure are carefully represented; they unquestionably, also, were sufficiently minute and accurate in their work to produce portraits when necessary. It was, therefore, not want of capacity entirely that caused the productions of Egyptian art to fall so far short of the polished works of the Grecian chisel; their defects were purposed.

There was, however, one department of drawing, in which all the specimens yet seen, would justify the conclusion that they were entirely ignorant. They knew nothing of perspective, and some of their devices to remedy defects arising from this cause, are clumsy in the extreme. Thus, if it became necessary to depict three sides of an apartment, (as may be seen in the pictures of some of the granaries,) a separate elevation of each wall was made, and the distant end of the room was placed, in the drawing, *above* the elevation of the sides, as an entirely separate feature. From these and other causes, it requires some little practice and familiarity with the representations in Egyptian paintings and reliefs, to understand them. They present, at first, an indistinctness and confusion that make their comprehension difficult.

There was another particular in which, as artists, they were deficient. They seem to have known little or nothing of the application, in their coloring, of light and shade; nor is there now remembered among all the specimens yet seen, a solitary attempt at what is termed by artists, foreshortening. In their ignorance of perspective, and light and shade, it is perhaps worthy of note that they find, at this day, an exact resemblance in one of the most ancient civilized nations of the world, the Chinese.

It may, perhaps, aid the reader, if before entering upon the work of a comparison of the Bible with the existing Egyptian remains, we detain him long enough for the accomplishment of an imaginary voyage up the Nile from Cairo, touching only at certain prominent points, with the view of fixing in the mind localities. Near Cairo, at the distance of about two hours' journey, is *Heliopolis* or *On*, now known as Matarèh. "Its site is marked by low mounds, inclosing a

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THE SPHYNX.

space about three-fourths by half a mile, once occupied by houses and the temple of the Sun. This area is now a ploughed field, a garden of herbs, and the solitary obelisk (of Osirtasen I.) which still rises in the midst, is the sole remnant of the former splendors of the place." A little above Cairo, on the western side of the river, are the pyramids of Ghizeh, Saqqara, and Dashour. "The pyramids of Ghizeh" (thus writes a modern traveller) "are numerous; but those which are spoken of as *the* pyramids are three in number; they are situated at the confines of the great Libyan desert, on a bed of limestone rock about one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the sand, and one hundred and sixty above the river. There is now scarcely a vestige of the ruins of Memphis; but sufficient observation has been made to determine the site of that ancient city; and the pyramids are believed to mark the situation of its *western* suburbs." The Greek writers, who have said any thing illustrating the history of Egypt, all concur in stating that it was the unanimous tradition of the Egyptian priests, that the pyramids were the oldest of their monuments.

According to Manetho, the three great pyramids at Memphis were built by the first three kings of the fourth dynasty. In a small tomb near the great pyramid, the name of the founder has been discovered. Manetho writes it in Greek, Σουφις (Suphis); Eratosthenes says that, in Egyptian, this means κομαστος, i. e. "one who has much hair." The phonetic hieroglyphics, it is said, furnish as the name, two words, which in Coptic mean "much hair." The name of his son, who founded the second pyramid, has also been discovered in an adjacent tomb. In the cartouche it reads She-fré. Manetho calls him Suphis II., and Herodotus writes it Cephrenes. Col. Vyse deciphered the name of the founder of the third

pyramid on the remains of a coffin, which he discovered in the interior of it. The name, as usual, is in a cartouche; read off into characters familiar to us, it is Men-ka-re. According to Manetho, the name of the builder of the third pyramid was Mencheres.

As to Memphis, once known as *Moph*, *Noph*, *Menf*, (as well as by other names,) and now Mitraheny; little of it is left. "Large mounds of rubbish, a colossal statue sunk deep in the ground, and a few fragments of granite are all that remains." So says a modern authority, without making any allusion to the great Sphinx, which is in this neighborhood. The colossus above spoken of is of Remeses II.

Proceeding up the river and passing by Benisooef, from which a road leads to the Fyoom, we pause at Beni Hassan, on the eastern bank of the river. Here are some very fine grottoes with curious paintings. These grottoes are cut in the solid rock, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson states that "from the sculptures of Beni Hassan we learn that the Egyptians were acquainted with the manufacture of linen, glass, cabinet work, gold ornaments, and numerous objects indicative of art and refinement, and various gymnastic exercises; the games of draughts, ball, *mora*, and other well-known modern amusements were common at the same period. The style of architecture was grand and chaste, and the fluted columns of Beni Hassan are of a character calling to mind the purity of the Doric, which, indeed seems to have derived its origin from Egypt."

We next reach Girgeh, three hours' ride distant from Abydus, (now known as Aràbat el matfóon.) Here are groves of acacia, and here also was found the tablet of which a representation has been given on a previous page. This spot was

also deemed peculiarly sacred, as being the burial-place of Osiris. There are two temples at Abydus and many tombs.

The next locality designated on the map is Dendera (Tentyris). Here was found the zodiac, from which, as has already been mentioned, the French savans deduced such extraordinary conclusions as to the antiquity of the work; all of which were quietly disposed of by Champollion's reading on the zodiac itself the name of Augustus Cæsar.

We next come upon Thebes, once the proud capital of upper Egypt (Diospolis Magna). On the eastern bank are Karnac and Luxor; on the western the tombs of the kings, private tombs, several temples, and colossi of the plains. It would require a volume to describe the objects of interest that here arrest the archæologist. Sir Gardner Wilkinson has given a volume to the subject, to which the inquiring reader is referred. We present the account afforded by another traveller of his approach to Thebes. "We saw before us" (says he), "the bed of a fine river, and an extensive plain, but no buildings, nor was there the distant hum of human beings; the only sounds that reached the ear were the gently rippling current of the waters, and the hoarse croaking of the bull-frogs now in full chorus. At last, the top of a lofty propylon was pointed out, marking the situation of Karnac, and we could just catch a glimpse of the ruins of Luxor." We cannot withhold the picture which follows of antiquarian enthusiasm.

"M. Bonomi, pointing to the heights of Qh'oornah, informed us that he had taken up his residence there, among the tombs, one of which he had swept and purified, and by putting up a door and making other necessary arrangements, had converted it into a very commodious, dry, and comfortable

dwelling. Here he had resided several years, devoting himself to the study of Egyptian antiquities. Like Robinson Crusoe, he kept his boat, his cat, his dog, his goats, and—not a parrot, but an ostrich, which took her flights into the desert, and regularly came to be fed. He had fowls also which supplied him with eggs; and from time to time he laid in a stock of provisions from Kheneh. Engaged in intellectual pursuits, his wants were few; the climate suited his constitution; he enjoyed the best of health, and the habits of the people were agreeable to his taste. He was acquainted with the language, and by continued acts of kindness and philanthropy, had secured the friendly auspices of the natives, who called him 'Aboo Nom,' sometimes 'Aboo Youssouf Nom,' his own name being Joseph; and as he often acted the part of the good Samaritan, they would add 'El Hhakkim Inglese,' regarding him as the 'favored of Allah,' and applying to him on all occasions for advice. His appearance was venerable; and having adopted their costume, they seemed to forget that he was a Christian: they occasionally interchanged presents, and lived on terms of the greatest harmony; for whatever disputes arose, no one offered to molest Aboo Nom."

Agreeable as it would be to dwell longer among these interesting ruins, we must not forget that the purpose we have in view is not to write the narrative of a picturesque tour up the Nile. Referring our readers, therefore, to the views presented on previous pages of portions of Luxor and Karnac, as affording some faint idea of these stupendous monuments of ancient art, we pass on to Esneh.

Here it will be remembered was another zodiac, on which Champollion found the name of Antoninus, to the utter overthrow of the learned calculations and conjectures of the

KOOM OMBOS

French literati. The temple at Edfou next attracts our notice.

We come next upon Koom Ombos. Here is the great temple of *Sevek-ra*, a magnificent structure. The portico is presented in the annexed view.

Our next landing place is Syene, now E'Sooan, which was the southern boundary of Egypt. Passing this, we enter Nubia and reach Gerf Hossain; a view of the ruins in which place forms the frontispiece of this volume.

The last locality designated on the map is Aboo-simbel, and here is a temple, remarkable as being the only one in Egypt or Nubia that has suffered from dampness. Some of the paintings are here obliterated, and the walls are crumbling. Still much of great interest remains, and particularly battle scenes and victories, supposed by some to represent those of Sesostris. His opponents in battle are white, having black hair and eyes, and a long black beard.

Having thus completed our imaginary voyage, and furnished our readers, we trust, with such preliminary information as may be useful, we now proceed to bring the testimony furnished by Egyptian antiquities into juxtaposition with the sacred history.

CHAPTER V.

Remarks on testimony.—Application of them to the evidence afforded by the monuments.—Facts related in Abraham's history tested by Egyptian remains.

WHEN a number of well-authenticated contemporaneous facts are brought into juxtaposition; and when thus combined, they show, that except in a certain contingency, their simultaneous existence was not possible; that contingency is as clearly proved as are the well-authenticated facts that thus constitute what is called circumstantial evidence. "Circumstances," it has been said, "cannot lie:" this is true; but those who relate the circumstances may; hence it is all-important that the facts which constitute the circumstances should be verified beyond all reasonable question; when thus verified, the inevitable deductions from them are entitled to just as much confidence as if they were proved by direct testimony.

Again, it often happens that most important testimony is purely incidental. The facts or circumstances that furnish the incidents, have seemingly no direct connection with the point to be proved. They are brought forward with reference to another and totally different point, when their coincidence with the alleged fact under investigation is, for the first time, unexpectedly developed. Such testimony has the advantage of being unsuspected, for it could not have been manufactured

for the occasion: undesigned coincidences, therefore, (particularly when found in documents having no connection with, or reference to, the same principal subject,) are never to be slighted in weighing testimony.

These are important considerations to be borne in mind upon the very threshold of the investigation on which we are about to enter. What, for instance, are the facts? We are in possession of a very ancient documentary history, the Bible, the truth of which is established satisfactorily to our minds by distinct and independent testimony, directly applicable to the question of its truth or falsehood. Almost within the present generation, the interesting discovery has been made of the mode of interpreting the characters, long illegible, delineated on the monuments and in the writings of an ancient country, a *part* of whose history is found incidentally written in our Bible, because it was connected with the progress of another people, of whom our book *professedly* gives the history. Now it is very obvious, that if these modern discoveries bring to light historical events which synchronize with the relation of them given in our book; or if they illustrate, in hundreds of particulars, national usages, or manners, or arts, all of which are found to harmonize with what our document casually illustrates of customs, &c., among the ancient people to whom it incidentally refers; then cumulative testimony is afforded thereby to the truth of our document, so far, at least, as our book and the monuments professedly speak of the same thing.

It is true, indeed, that the Bible does not actually *need* this cumulative testimony to its authenticity. Every subject of investigation must primarily be examined by the species of testimony applicable to the proof of its truth; and of this suitable proof, we apprehend there is quite enough to sustain

the Bible. It is not, therefore, because there is a deficiency of evidence that investigations like the present have been made: they have been called for, rather, by the bold assertions of those who have proclaimed their discovery in the monuments, of evidence directly contradicting the truth of the Bible. It is not pretended by them, that some of the facts and circumstances mentioned in the Old Testament are not confirmed by the monuments; but their objection is founded chiefly on the *chronology* of the book: they affirm an existence and occupancy of Egypt by man, many thousands of years anterior to the supposed date of the creation of man. It is no part of our purpose in *this* work, (as we have already said,) to enter into the examination of their supposed chronology. We would, however, here simply say, that, even on their own grounds, it is, in the judgment of men as learned as themselves, beset with insuperable difficulties; and is so far from having reached the certainty of *proof*, that great differences of opinion exist among themselves, on the subject. Beside, even supposing the commonly received chronology of the Pentateuch, or that of the Septuagint, to be erroneous, (which, as to the latter, we are very far from conceding,) it would be difficult to perceive how this disproves the existence of a *fact* distinctly recorded, in its historical statements; such as the exode of the Israelites, for instance. *That* may have occurred, though the precise time of its occurrence be inaccurately stated. It does not affect the respect due to the book as an inspired volume of *fact* or *doctrine*, to consider its *general chronology* an open question: that it has been so considered and treated by some of the most pious and learned men, is a fact well known to the Biblical student. When *time* is not of the essence of a fact recorded, it is unimportant. There are few, even of modern histories,

that harmonize in *dates;* yet no one doubts the facts they state.

In this case, as in the kindred one of geological science, it would seem that the simple purpose for which the book was written has been overlooked. The Bible was never intended to be a system of chronology, nor a treatise on geology. Its chief purpose (we speak now of the Pentateuch, the part more immediately before us) was, first, to communicate the great truth of one only God, the Creator, thus giving a death-blow to idolatry; and secondly, to preserve the leading facts connected with the origin and progress of a nation, designed by God to preserve, in the midst of error and corruption, certain religious truths important to man to know. If matters connected with science be mentioned or alluded to, the occurrence is incidental; and though what is said is true, it does not necessarily embody *all* truth on that subject, nor profess so to do. These remarks are not made as an apology for the Bible, in its supposed disagreement with the discoveries of science: we say *supposed* disagreement; for we are free to confess that there is not, in our view, one syllable in the Bible contradicted by the discoveries of the geologist, however ancient he may make the oldest strata; nor have we any belief in the assumption that a chronology derived (as it is pretended) from monumental evidence in Egypt, proves the falsehood of the ancient and only authentic history of man, contained in our Bible.

But may it not with truth be said, that the Bible has not been treated with fairness by those who would find, in the monuments, its refutation? By common consent they seem to have rejected its aid, though it is the only written record in existence professing to be *contemporary* with some of the events sculptured on the monuments: they have turned away

from it, to rely upon the classical authorities, the oldest of which dates at least 1000 years *after* the temples on which the sculptures occur. Now, that a record of the same fact is sometimes preserved both in the Bible and on the monuments, is undeniable; should not this coincidence have at least begotten the suspicion that possibly, as a mere history, illustrative of the monuments, the Bible was actually the best help to be had? Indeed, had it been presented to the world as a mere history of human events, without any other claim to acceptance than that which belongs to Herodotus, for instance; had it not professed to fulfil the higher object of being a guide from God, authoritatively addressed to man; who can doubt that many a modern archæologist would have gladly availed himself of its aid, and trumpeted forth the accuracy of his hieroglyphical interpretations as proved by the wonderful confirmation they received from that veritable historian, Moses? Very sure it is, that, as yet, the perfect certainty in some instances of correct hieroglyphical interpretation can be proved only by referring to the narratives of the Bible. The book is not indebted to the monuments for confirmation of its truth, as much as the monuments are to it, for proof of their correct interpretation. It would seem, too, that there has been an error even on the part of some of the friends of revelation, in presenting the coincidences between the Bible and the monuments, as exhibited in the *pictures* merely, while the *inscriptions* that accompany them, and, in truth, form their explanation, have been neglected.

Entering upon a comparison of the Bible with Egyptian monuments, these preliminary remarks may not be without use, as indicating, in some degree, what we may expect to find. Whoever supposes that he will meet with a continuous sculp-

tured history of Egypt, or even of that part of her history to which the Bible refers, will find disappointment. The memorials that we now see were not designed by those who made them to present any such history; they are the records of single events, most commonly conquests and triumphs in war, and were erected by pride to perpetuate the atrocities of bloodthirsty ambition: they never tell a story of Egyptian humiliation. No success over Egypt, no national misfortune or disgrace ever called forth the labor of her teeming population, or employed the skill of her artists. If, therefore, we find aught to repay the toil of research, it must be gathered, here and there, in isolated facts: grouping them all together they form a mass of testimony, the more valuable from being incidental; and interesting as tending, if not to confirm, yet to shed light on many portions of that book, the truth of which is, by other and independent testimony, already, to our minds, satisfactorily established.

Egypt was formerly divided into three great provinces. The most southern part, or Upper Egypt, was known as the Thebaid, and is that portion of the great valley of the Nile, in which was situated one of the great capitals of the whole empire, the city of Thebes. The grandeur and extent of this once great city are attested by the colossal ruins which still remain to mark its site, now occupied in part by the modern towns and villages of Luxor, Karnac, and other places of inferior note.

Middle Egypt, as it was called, lies immediately on the north of the Thebaid; and was anciently known as the Hepta-

nomis, from the fact that it was divided into seven nomes or districts.

Lower Egypt comprised all the northern portion from the Heptanomis to the Mediterranean. The great capital here was Memphis. Its site is now covered with a growth of date palms; while the great Sphinx, the pyramids of Ghizeh, and the rock tombs, are almost the sole monuments of its former splendor.

The geographical feature, however, which, in our present work, is most interesting to us, is in the fact of the contiguity of Egypt to Canaan. The countries were separated by that part of Arabia Petræa which extends to the shores of the Mediterranean. Relations of a political and commercial kind existed between Egypt and Canaan at a very early period, and we learn as much from the Greek historians: but a more authentic testimony to the same fact is to be found in the history contained in the Bible. The oriental name of Egypt, according to the Scriptures, was *Mizraim*. Mizraim and Canaan were two of the sons of Ham [GEN. x. 6]. It seems to be generally conceded that Egypt, as well as the neighboring regions, was peopled by some of the descendants of Ham; and we know that it was Canaan who gave his name to the country that was colonized by his family. Nothing, therefore, was more natural than that an intercourse should exist between these descendants of a common stock. We have the history in the Scriptures of such intercourse; and we now enter upon the direct inquiry, how far the statements of our history derive incidental confirmation from facts concerning Egypt, gathered from other sources.

ABRAHAM.

It is with this individual that the history of the Hebrews begins, and it is his Scripture biography that first brings us into contact with Egyptian usages. For our present purpose it is not necessary that we should follow out his life in all its details. Certain acts of it only, bring Egypt into view, and it is with these alone that we are now concerned. Leaving Ur of the Chaldees, (now Urfah, as it is supposed,) the place of his nativity, we find him at length in the land of Canaan, a pastoral chief, leading his flocks and herds to fresh pasture grounds, as necessity might require. At length a famine arises in Canaan, and Abraham, who was then in the southern part of that country, heard that there was corn in Egypt, and determined to proceed thither with his family. Beside his wife Sarai, his household consisted then of his servants only, for at that time, he was childless. When he reached the borders of Egypt, he had an opportunity of comparing the personal appearance of his wife with that of the females of Egypt, and found the complexion of the one much fairer than that of the others. Abraham was apprehensive that the personal appearance of his wife might render her an object of attraction to the monarch of Egypt, (who was known by the general term, Pharaoh;) and was thereby induced to represent her as his sister; and it appears that his fears were not unfounded. "The princes of Pharaoh" saw the handsome stranger, and their reports of her beauty soon reached the ears of the king. He took the woman into his house, and made valuable presents to her husband; they are particularly enumerated; "sheep and oxen, and he-asses, and men-servants, and maid-servants, and she-asses and camels." Pharaoh presently discovered that

Sarah was Abraham's *wife*, and not his sister, as he had supposed, and therefore desired Abraham to take her and go his way. Abraham accordingly left Egypt, taking with him his wife and all that he had, and is represented as having been very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold.

These are substantially the incidents of the story, as it stands recorded in the latter part of the twelfth chapter of Genesis. And here, our first business is to cull from this narrative, the *facts* expressed or implied in it. They appear to be these:

1. *Egypt was then a powerful nation, rich and civilized.*
2. *Lower Egypt was then dry.*
3. *Its kings were known by the name of Pharaoh.*
4. *Domestic servitude then existed there.*
5. *There was famine in Canaan and abundance in Egypt.*
6. *Sarah was fair, and used no covering or veil over her face.*
7. *Pharaoh wished to place her in his harem.*
8. *There was no dislike of Abraham's pastoral occupation then manifested.*
9. *His gifts were sheep, oxen, he and she-asses, men and maid-servants, camels, gold and silver.*
10. *Abraham accepted these gifts.*

Our next inquiry is this: Are these facts illustrated or incidentally confirmed by any evidence we possess relating to Egypt?

1. *Egypt was then a powerful nation, rich and civilized.*

A certain class of "Egyptologists" is not disposed to contradict this. In fact they claim that many thousands of years

before Abraham, Egypt was a populous and highly cultivated country. The scope of their argument is that the monuments sustain their view of a chronology, that carries them back to a period of time very much earlier than the days of Abraham; and they thence *infer* that it must have taken many thousands of years for a people to grow up from a state of barbarism, into the "high civilization" that must have existed at the time of the earliest monuments. They thus build upon an *inference* founded on an *assumption*. The assumption is that they find, in Egyptian antiquities, a support for their chronology; a point which they certainly cannot *prove* by any thing yet discovered; and they thence deduce an inference founded, as it seems to us, on an error. For, by what authority, we ask, are they sustained in the position, that the career of early nations *commenced in barbarism?* How will they establish the fact that the earliest races of men were *savages?* From the testimony of the oldest authentic history of man, a different conclusion seems inevitable. Take the only history we have of the antediluvian period, and what trace do we find in it of savage life? Not one. Does not this fact, then, rather indicate that savageism was a degeneracy, in some portion of the human family, from an original condition of civilization existing in some greater or less degree? There is nothing in what we know of man's history and progress to justify the opinion, that in early times he proceeded from a savage to a civilized state; but, on the contrary, much to confirm the belief, that from civilization he degenerated into barbarism.

Be this, however, as it may, it is still true that Egypt had long been occupied by civilized men, before Abraham saw it. It is by no means improbable that his eye rested on some of the monuments of Lower Egypt, on which we may now look.

Its condition as a country, subsisting under a well established form of government, is an important fact, as we shall see, in our further progress; and the monuments, without carrying us back into a past, too remote for reasonable belief, do still indicate the existence of all those arts of civilization and government, which mark a social existence, extending backward for at least several ages, and certainly, to a time long before the days of Abraham. There are architectural remains in Egypt that have outlived the touch of time's hand for more than thirty centuries. These conclusively show that the country possessed its palaces, propyla, tombs, and temples, at the time when the children of Israel, under the successors of Joshua, were contending with the Canaanites for the possession of the promised land; or even yet earlier, when the children of Israel were slaves in Egypt. But, we may go back further still, and find abundant evidence that no small degree of political freedom, as well as a long-continued civilization, must have existed among the Egyptians long before Abraham's day. And with this, the story now before us, as well as all others in the Bible relating to Egypt, will be found to harmonize.

2. *Lower Egypt was then dry.*

It is not necessary here to enter minutely into a geological discussion; or to attempt a scientific solution of the question, 'How long a time must it have required to form the Delta of the Nile?'* All that concerns us at present is the fact, that in

* The whole subject of the formation of Deltas, is one requiring more facts than geology has yet accumulated, to enable scientific men to speak with absolute certainty. Other causes than that of the gradual deposit of soil, washed down by the river, are to be examined. Thus, as it respects the Delta of the Mississippi,

Abraham's day, Lower Egypt was dry, and habitable. Facts, now existing in Egypt, would seem to show that there had been ample time for the production of such a result. The *soil* of Egypt was, doubtless, originally formed in great part, by the earth brought down by the river, from Abyssinia and the interior of Africa, and deposited during the periodical annual inundations. From the same cause, in the progress of years, it has been gradually elevated. There are towns and buildings which we know, from history, to have been originally built on mounds above the reach of ordinary inundations, that are now so much below the level of the river, that they are regularly overflowed; for it must not be forgotten that the rise in the bed of the river keeps pace with the extent of every fresh deposit on the adjacent land.

Thus, the ancient Nilometer at Elephantine, mentioned by Strabo, is still in existence. The highest measure marked on it is twenty-four cubits. At this day, the water, in its greatest elevation, rises *eight feet above that mark;* while an inscription on the wall, made in the third century of our era, shows that the water then rose but *one foot* above the twenty-four cubit, or high water mark. Here, then, is a difference of elevation of *seven feet* in about sixteen hundred years: *i. e.* of five and a quarter inches in a century; and there is independent testimony to show, that in the circumjacent soil, the

for instance, it is an undoubted fact, that new land successively rises and disappears at the mouths of the river, from upheavals and depressions, occasioned by subterraneous agencies. When, in 1811, New Madrid, on the Mississippi, was destroyed, and the city of Caraccas was simultaneously overthrown by the same convulsion, the effects and agitation about the mouths of the Mississippi, it is said, were such as to indicate that the locality was in the line of communication by which the mighty subterraneous agent reached from New Madrid to Caraccas.

rise has been in about the same proportion. There are isolated spots where, from local causes, the rise of the soil may be more or less than this, but these are occasional irregularities, not affecting the general result. Of course, as in all long rivers that form Deltas, the strata of deposit will diminish in thickness as the river approaches the sea; thus, Sir Gardner Wilkinson tells us, that "at Elephantine, the land has been raised about nine feet in seventeen hundred years, at Thebes, about seven, and so on gradually diminishing to the mouth." He also indicates the ratio of gradual diminution by the statements, that around the base of the obelisk of Osirtasen, at Heliopolis, the alluvial soil has accumulated to the height of five feet ten inches; and that around a monument—had one been erected at Elephantine, when the obelisk was reared—there would now have been an accumulation of about nineteen feet.

The swell of the river varies in different parts of its channel. In Upper Egypt it is from thirty to thirty-five feet; at Cairo, it is about twenty-three feet; in the northern, or most seaward part of the Delta, it is not more than four feet. This arises, first, from the breadth of the inundation, (the waters spreading over a large extent of level formation,) and secondly, from the fact that its volume in the river is diminished by the numerous artificial channels, all over the country, into which it is conducted for purposes of irrigation; and in which channels it is retained after the river has subsided. The inhabitants of Egypt have, with great labor, cut a vast number of canals and trenches through the whole extent of the land, and the object of these is to convey the waters to spots where the inundation does not directly extend.

But there is additional evidence, adduced by Osborn, in

support of the fact we are considering. Herodotus informs us that in the days of Menes, (the first of Egypt's line of human monarchs,) the Delta of the Nile was already a reclaimable marsh. Now let us inquire if there be any data on which to form an opinion as to the time it would require so to elevate the land, by means of art aiding the deposits of the river, as to render this reclaimable marsh fit for occupancy. Juvenal informs us that about 1600 years ago, the Nile emptied itself by many mouths; we now know that the deposits of the river have filled up all its mouths but two. If then 1600 years were sufficient to produce the effect of stopping all the mouths but two; and if, in Menes's day, (who was confessedly, according to the anti-Bible school of "Egyptologists," many hundreds of years before Abraham,) the Delta was *then* reclaimable; is it unreasonable to conclude that Lower Egypt was a dry country, and thickly inhabited when Abraham first saw it?—We are unwilling to leave this subject without adverting to the testimony it incidentally affords to the point in proof of which Osborn originally adduced it: viz., that Menes (who we readily admit lived in a very distant period from the present) did *not* live, as some have informed us, *about* 6000 *years before Christ;* for had this been the case, if Herodotus and Juvenal may be credited in their statements, the Delta, instead of being in his day, a reclaimable marsh, would have been an expanse of deep sea.

But there is still another, and to our minds most conclusive proof on this subject, which shows "that the Egypt of the Bible is Egypt indeed, not a fiction, nor an imposture, nor a blunder—as writers of the Voltaire school would persuade the world—but a reality, so far as it goes, a picture copied from actual life."

If the reader will turn to the map of ancient Egypt, he will find that on that branch in the Delta, which empties by the Tanitic, or, as Herodotus terms it, the Saitic mouth, stands *Tanis*, not far from the sea. This place is known in Scripture by the name of *Zoan*. In NUMBERS xiii. 22, it is stated that "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." Zoan, then, we remark in passing, seems to have been proverbially ancient, as it was used as a standard of reference, to indicate the age of other cities. Now we have but to ascertain whether Hebron existed in Abraham's day. To this the answer is, that when Abraham reached Canaan, the Scriptural history tells us, he found Hebron there; and for aught that is known to the contrary, it might *then* have been standing for many years.

3. *The kings of Egypt were then known by the title*, PHARAOH.

This word is sometimes used in Scripture, as if it were a proper name; and sometimes the phrase, "King of Egypt," is added to it. Sometimes, also, the real proper name, as it may be called, is added; thus we read of Pharaoh Necho, and Pharaoh Hophra. The word is written in Hebrew, *Phrah*, [פרעה,] and different opinions have been expressed as to its origin. Josephus, in his antiquities, intimates that it is derived from the ancient Egyptian word, *ouro*, meaning "king;" prefixing the masculine article, in Coptic, it becomes *p-ouro*, "the king," or *ph-ouro*, whence Pharaoh. A later, and probably more correct opinion, derives it from the Egyptian word Phra, "the sun," which both Rosellini and Lepsius have remarked, is often written hieroglyphically, on the monuments, over the heads of the kings, where it is represented by the hawk and globe, or by the symbol of the sun. Sir Gardner Wilkinson

thus writes: "I have frequently had occasion to notice the true meaning and purport of this name. I shall, therefore, only observe, that it is written in Hebrew, Phrah, and is taken from the Egyptian word Pire or Phre, (pronounced Phra,) signifying the sun, and represented, in hieroglyphics, by the hawk and globe, or sun, over the royal banners. It was through the well-known system of analogies that the king obtained this title, being the chief of earthly, as the sun was of heavenly bodies. But the word is not derived from, or related to *ouro*, "king," as Josephus supposes. Phouro is like Pharaoh; but the name is Phrah, in Hebrew, and Pharaoh is an unwarranted corruption."

It has been suggested that the two derivations are quite reconcileable; inasmuch as it is not only possible, but highly probable, that the Egyptians, in conformity with a very common usage among modern oriental sovereigns, should make the name of the sun a royal title, and that thence, custom should make it equivalent to the word "king." But, at present, our business is with the fact that, in Abraham's day, the monarch of Egypt was known by the title of Pharaoh; and that the monuments clearly show that it was the generic term applied to all the native sovereigns of Egypt. As far as the Bible conveys any information on the subject, it tells exactly the same story. We leave this point here, for the present, as we shall have occasion to resume it on a future page.

4. *Domestic servitude then existed in Egypt.*

Pharaoh gave to Abraham men-servants and maid-servants, according to our history. Had Egypt at that day household slaves? It is difficult, in tracing the history of slavery, to say when it did not exist. We meet with it in the

earliest written record we have of our race; and indeed we are aware of its prevalence, in a greater or less degree, among all early nations. In some instances, in the Bible, the word *servant* may, and we think does, mean some humble friend, or dependent, or disciple performing servile offices; but the mass of those called *servants* in Scripture were absolute and perpetual slaves. They generally were either captives taken in war, or were foreigners that had been purchased. They, with their descendants, were considered the property of their masters, and, as such, might be exchanged or sold; nay, among some nations, a power of life and death over his unfortunate slave was confided to his master. Abraham's servants were, we apprehend, slaves: but the revolting circumstances attending slavery in some of its exhibitions, were generally unknown among the early orientals. The slaves were rather deemed, and treated, as humble members of the family; though to this there were doubtless, in some instances, cruel exceptions. Whatever may have been the case, however, as to the extent of a master's power, servitude of some kind, and a right of alienation, are distinctly declared. The monuments show us the existence of slavery. "From them we find" (says Taylor) "that the mistress of a mansion was very rigid in enforcing her authority over her female domestics. We see these unfortunate beings trembling and cringing before their superiors, beaten with rods by the overseers, and sometimes threatened with a formidable whip, wielded by the lady of the mansion herself." In other cases, the relation subsisting between the mistress and her slaves appears to be of a gentler and more affectionate character. In a tomb at Thebes is a representation, copied by Wilkinson, of a lady enjoying the bath, who is waited on by four female servants, where nothing

appears to indicate any other feeling than that of mutual kindness, and, on the part of the attendants, respectful affection.

5. *There was famine in Canaan, and abundance in Egypt.*

Egypt in early times was regarded as the granary of western Asia. It owes its fertility to the periodical inundations of the Nile; these are, of course, the consequence of the rains in the remote country in which the river takes its rise, or through which it passes in the upper part of its course; for it is the peculiarity of Egypt that it does not depend for its fertility, as most other lands do, on local rains; of which, as we have already stated, it may be said to have comparatively none. It may therefore be, that a want of local rains in Canaan would produce a scarcity there; while in the adjacent region of Lower Egypt, overflowed by reason of rain in a far-distant and mountainous land, there would be abundance. Such, we believe, is at this day sometimes the case; Egypt is fertile, while local causes occasion more or less of dearth in Canaan.

It sometimes happens, though rarely, that there is want in Egypt; but we will not now dwell on this, as we shall have occasion to speak of it, more particularly, hereafter. The coexistence of want in Canaan, and abundance in Egypt, is thus seen to be in perfect harmony with the natural phenomena of the country.

6. *Sarah was fair, and used no covering or veil over her face.*

Sarah was a native of Mesopotamia; and from the complexions of different nations as painted on the monuments, we learn that the Egyptians were not so dark as the Nubians and Ethiopians; but were of a browner tinge than the Asiatics. Hence "the Egyptians beheld the woman, that she was *very*

fair." We read, too, that "the princes of Pharaoh also saw her." Hence she must have been unveiled. This is in accordance with what we learn from the monuments; and, though seemingly a small matter, is yet valuable for the incidental testimony it affords to the fact that the writer of our history, whoever he may have been, knew well the fashions of Egypt in the days of Abraham, and described things as they were. Oriental women generally veil their faces in public; and out of Egypt, such was the custom from the earliest times: but in Egypt, such was not the fashion until after the conquest of the country by the Persians. In the reign of the Pharaohs, as the monuments abundantly show, the women exposed their faces, and were permitted to enjoy as much liberty as the ladies of modern Europe. This was the result of an advanced state of civilization.

We have numerous illustrations on the walls of Egypt, showing the habits of social life among the ancient inhabitants. Thus, in the representation of an entertainment, we may see the ladies and gentlemen sometimes assembled in the same apartment, and mingling together with all the freedom of modern social intercourse. The children also, instead of being shut up in the harem, according to present oriental custom, are introduced into the company, and are depicted as sitting by the mother's side or on the father's knee. In fact, no ancient nation allowed to its females greater luxuries and privileges than were granted to the Egyptian women. Their dresses were exceedingly rich and costly. As has been intimated by Mr. Taylor, the inventory of female ornaments, furnished by the prophet Isaiah, (ch. iii. 18–23,) might be made from an inspection of the monuments. We see on them "the bravery of their tinkling ornaments about their

feet, and their cauls, and their round tires, like the moon; the chains and the bracelets, and the mufflers; the bonnets and the ornaments of the legs, and the headbands, and the tablets, and the ear-rings; the rings and nose-jewels, the changeable suits of apparel, and the mantles, and the wimples, and the crisping-pins; the glasses (mirrors), and the fine linen, and the hoods, and the veils." Some of the representations of entertainments, on the monuments, are not a little amusing; and certainly indicate a state of female freedom, quite as liberal as could have been desired. The ladies are sometimes to be seen engaged in an animated discussion on the respective merits of their ear-rings and the arrangement of their plaited hair, and exhibiting a characteristic rivalry. Sometimes, too, may be seen unfortunate ladies paying the penalty of excess in wine, and evidently unable "to carry their liquor discreetly." Sir Gardner Wilkinson supplies us with a representation, from Thebes, and thus describes it. "Some call the servants to support them as they sit, others, with difficulty prevent themselves from falling on those behind them; a basin is brought too late by a reluctant servant,

Servant called to support her mistress.—*Thebes.*

and the faded flower, which is ready to drop from their heated hands, is intended to be characteristic of their own sensations."

A party of Egyptian ladies.—*Thebes.*

7. Pharaoh wished to place Sarah in his harem.

To this it has been objected, that Herodotus has stated that each Egyptian had but one wife. This was true of the *practice* of the common people, of whom Herodotus was then speaking; but the *law* allowed more; as Diodorus informs us that, "among the Egyptians, the priests marry only one woman, but the rest of the men, each one as many as he pleases." The difference is merely between what the law permitted, and what were the usages of the country. Diodorus states the first, and Herodotus the last. The same state of things still exists at the East, for, though polygamy is permitted to the Moslem, yet it is not deemed reputable to have more than one *wife.* "But," (says Sir Gardner Wilkinson,) "though the Egyptians generally confined themselves to one wife, they, like the Jews and other Eastern nations, both of ancient and modern times, scrupled not to admit other inmates to their *harem*, most of whom appear to have been

foreigners, either taken in war, or brought to Egypt to be sold as slaves. These women were white or black slaves, according to the countries from which they were brought." The monuments afford evidence of this. Below we give representations taken from Thebes; the first group is of white slaves, of whom the scribe is taking account.

From Thebes.

We have also the following, where the slaves are black.

From Thebes.

Generally speaking, the blacks were employed merely as domestics. The whites also officiated as servants, but held a rank above the black slaves. Wilkinson is of opinion that the women represented at Medinet Aboo, attending upon Remeses, were of this class of persons, and, at all events, not the wives of the monarch.

It was for the purpose of being introduced into the harem that Pharaoh took Sarah from Abraham; and here one cannot help being struck with the perfect orientalism of the whole proceeding. We find in the Scriptures accounts of Abraham's dealings with the kings of Siddim, the king of Gerar, and others, in which the patriarch stands seemingly on the ground of an equal with these rulers. He was, therefore, of some note; yet, notwithstanding this, when he comes into Egypt, his position is one of such marked inferiority, that we can account for it only on the supposition that Egypt was the most powerful nation then known, and resistance to its iron hand of despotism was useless. At any rate, here is the case of one, who was no subject of the Egyptian king, but a newly-arrived stranger of distinction, toward whom is at once exercised the most offensive privilege of oriental despotism. We know that, even to this day, eastern despots act thus with reference to their own subjects, and transplant into the harem whomsoever they please: this instance shows that the practice is of great antiquity; and from some cause, Abraham, who never could willingly have assented to the arrangement, is compelled to submit in silence. Such an invasion of the sanctity of private life could occur only in the East; and the whole proceeding is in perfect keeping with the known habits of the Eastern people.

8. *There was no dislike of Abraham's pastoral occupation shown on this visit to Egypt.*

This is an important particular, as will be seen more fully when we come to speak of incidents in the life of Joseph. "It would be a valuable piece of information," (says Kitto,) "to know what king or dynasty reigned in Egypt at the time of Abram's visit. But the sacred narrative does not mention any king of Egypt by his proper name, till after the time of Solomon; and the Egyptian chronology at, and for some time after, this early date, is still involved in much uncertainty and confusion, notwithstanding the light which has been thrown on the general subject by the progress made in deciphering the hieroglyphic inscriptions."*

The question as to who was the king at the period of Abraham's visit becomes important here, when we find that afterward, in Joseph's time, "every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians." The inquiry arises, why were not shepherds an abomination when Abraham was in Egypt? The answer to this involves a somewhat obscure portion of Egyptian history, which, with as much brevity as is in our power, we will endeavor to make as plain as we can to our readers.

Before we enter upon our attempt to do this, we would remark, that there are some who have undertaken to answer the proposed inquiry, without reference to any part of Egyptian history. Some writers have supposed that the aversion in Egypt to shepherds arose from the animal worship of these ancient people; and that they disliked the shepherds, because

* This was written in 1841. Whatever may have been discovered since, (as to which large promises have been made,) nothing has been made public, to affect the truth of what is said in the quotation. To the first part of this remark the work of Nolan, published in 1848, may form an exception.

they fed on animals which, in their view, were sacred. This scarcely affords a satisfactory solution; for the Egyptians themselves by no means concurred in their animal deities. Almost every district had, in this matter, a different usage. In one, they worshipped goats, and ate sheep; in another, the sheep was deified, and the goat was eaten. In some parts, crocodiles were venerated; in others, they were slain without mercy. In truth, of the larger animals, the cow was the only one deemed sacred by the Egyptians; and the nomade shepherds do not kill cows for food. There was, indeed, the worship of the bull Apis, but this was confined to a particular animal. Bulls and oxen generally were not made objects of worship; and the sculptures show, in some instances, the sacrifice of bulls. We know that the Egyptian priests ate beef and veal. If any prejudice against shepherds existed on account of the Egyptian reverence for animals, it was probably connected almost entirely with the cow; but we doubt its existence on this ground.

Heeren intimates that the aversion to shepherds resulted, not from their occupation as herdsmen, but from the fact that the class of cattle rearers were addicted to lawless habits and pursuits, which would make them objects of aversion to a refined and civilized people like the Egyptians. It was *nomade* shepherds whom they abominated, not shepherds generally; for they had such among themselves, taking care of the cattle which we know the Egyptians had. But the habits of nomades were turbulent and aggressive; they were difficult of control by law, and felt themselves to be independent of all the wholseome restraints of a well-organized state of society. They were wanderers, free and bold, and wherever they planted themselves on the borders of civilization,

were apt, for the time, to prove very disagreeable neighbors. Hence the ruling priestly caste, among the Egyptians, extended to them no countenance, but sought, rather, to put them down, and forbade the Egyptians to eat with them.—This conjecture of Heeren has been deemed plausible by some able men; but we would, with all diffidence, submit, that a much more satisfactory explanation of the aversion to shepherds, is to be found in early Egyptian history; and to that we now proceed.

It seems to be one of the best established facts in the early history of Egypt, that its lower portion was for many years *under the dominion of a race of pastoral nomades*, (known as the Hyksos, or shepherd kings,) while the upper part of the country was under the native sovereigns. It is not, however, to be concealed, that any such pastoral dominion is denied by some; among whom are to be numbered Perizon, Hengstenberg, and others. Their denial results from their distrust of the authenticity of Manetho, and from the strange mingling together, in the narrative under his name, of facts well known in Hebrew history, with certain Egyptian stories. This has subjected his statement to suspicion; and yet, with a majority of the writers on this subject, we are disposed to think that Manetho's account is not entirely to be rejected as untrue; though it is mixed up with some very evident falsehood, which may easily be detected and separated.

This is Manetho's story, as it is preserved in a fragment by Josephus: "In the reign of King Timæus, there came up from the East men of an ignoble race, who had the confidence to invade our country; and easily subdued it without a battle, burning the cities, demolishing the temples, slaying the men, and reducing the women and children to slavery. They made

Salatis, one of themselves, king. He reigned at Memphis, and made the upper and lower regions [of Egypt] tributary; garrisoned fit places, particularly in the eastern frontier, through fear the Assyrians should invade the country. He rebuilt and strongly fortified the city of Avaris, in the Saïte nome, upon the east of the Bubastite channel, and garrisoned it with two hundred and fifty thousand men, as a treasure city. He reigned nineteen years." Manetho then gives the names of five successors; the whole number of years occupied by the six kings being, according to the version of Manetho by Josephus, 284; and according to that by Eusebius, 250.

He then informs us that the 16th dynasty, which he calls shepherd kings, was composed of thirty-two sovereigns, who reigned 518 years; and that the 17th, composed of forty-three shepherd kings, and forty-three (contemporary) Theban kings, reigned 151 years; and, in reference to these dynasties, he thus writes:—

"All this nation was called Hyksos, or shepherd kings; for the first syllable, *Hyk*, in the *sacred* dialect, means a king, and *sos*, in the *vulgar* tongue, a shepherd: some say they were Arabs. These shepherd kings and their descendants retained possession of Egypt 511 years."

He then proceeds, and thus explains the removal of these Hyksos:—

"The kings of the Thebaid and the other (*i. e.* Lower) Egypt rose against the shepherds, and after a long war, Alisphragmuthosis drove the shepherds, or captives as they were sometimes called, out of the other parts of Egypt, and confined them to the district of Avaris, which they strongly fortified to protect their property. Amosis or Thummosis, his son, besieged them in their stronghold with 480,000 men; reduced them to

capitulate, and they left Egypt in number 240,000, and marched through the desert toward Syria, and built the city of Jerusalem, in the country now called Judea, which they fortified against the Assyrians."

Thus far, we have, at least, an *intelligible* story: whether it be probably *true*, in every particular, is to be seen. In the main features of an invasion of Egypt by a race of shepherds from the East, of their dominion in the lower part of the country for many years, and of their final expulsion, the story is probably true; but the invaders were not Arabs; nor would we vouch for the entire accuracy of the details as to numbers, &c., given by Manetho. Hengstenberg objects to the whole story as being a fabrication, and one of his grounds for rejecting it calls for a passing remark. The word *Hyksos*, according to Manetho, is as to the first syllable, derived from the *sacred* dialect, and as to the last, from the *vulgar* tongue: Hengstenberg says there is nowhere else found any such union of a sacred and vulgar dialect in Egypt. Hence he infers the ignorance of the pretended Manetho as to the Egyptian language, in confounding the difference between sacred and common *writing*, with a difference between sacred and common *language*. He also, on the authority of Jablonski, says that the word Hyk is found where it cannot mean a king. In the first of these reasons there would be force were it certainly true; but we are not sure that there is not a difference between the ancient sacred and vulgar language. It is true, as Bunsen has remarked, that "all sacred language is essentially nothing but an earlier stage of the popular dialect, preserved by the sacred books;" and he illustrates it by the case of the Hebrew with the so-called Chaldee; the old Hellenic in the Greek church, with the modern Greek, &c.: but he adds, "it does

not follow that the more modern idiom [the vulgar] is every where the offspring of the sacred language. The 'common dialect' of the Egyptians, therefore, is not necessarily the immediate descendant of the sacred language of this nation." As to the word Hyk, we presume there can be no doubt that it does mean king; though it may also mean something else: there are words in our own, and every language, with a double meaning. But leaving this out of view, the main features of Manetho's narrative are worthy of belief, because, if we mistake not, they find some confirmation from the monuments, if the *inscriptions* be not, as is often the case, overlooked. The tomb of one of the officers of Amosis, (who, according to Manetho, expelled the shepherds,) has been found at Thebes. An inscription on it implies that the war against the shepherds was severe, and that many hard battles were fought before they were expelled.

The shepherd kings, Manetho tells us, reigned at Memphis, and he gives the names of the first six. Two of these names, Aphophis and Assis, have been discovered in the burial-place of ancient Memphis. The tomb of Assis, is said by its discoverer, M. l'Hote, to be executed in *cavo-relievo*, with surpassing skill.

Rosellini gives a plate of the conquests by Sethos, taken from the walls of Karnac, which helps us much toward a discovery of who these shepherd kings were. The name of one of the string of captives, translated from the hieroglyphics, is the Coptic word *shōs*, which means shepherd, and is what Josephus, in his version of Manetho, writes in Greek, Σως, [*sōs*.] If we can ascertain the *locality* of this representation of a conquered people, thus delineated in the triumphs of Sethos, it will aid us in settling who were the shepherd

invaders. Turning to the first picture of the war of Sethos with the *shōs*, on Rosellini's plate, we find the representation of a sanguinary defeat of the *shōs*, in the immediate vicinity of a fort on a high hill, covered with trees, and with a lake on one side of it. On this fort is inscribed in hieroglyphics, '*the fort* (stronghold) *of the land of Canaan.*' The shepherds then, who invaded Egypt, were, as Josephus has said, Canaanites, and not Arabs, as Manetho writes.

We therefore reach the conclusion that, in substance, the narrative of Manetho, no matter by whom written, is correct. There was a race of shepherds who invaded and conquered Lower Egypt, ruled over it for many years, and were finally expelled by the sovereigns of Upper Egypt.

We now return to the residue of Manetho's story. The dynasty founded by Amosis (who expelled the shepherds) consisted of sixteen kings, who, together, reigned two hundred and sixty-three years. The last of these kings, Amenophis, or one of his immediate predecessors, "being warned by the priests to cleanse the whole country of lepers and unclean persons, gathered them together, and sent them to the number of 80,000, to work at the quarries on the east side of the Nile. And there were among them some learned priests equally affected with leprosy. When they had been for some time in that miserable state, the king set apart for them the city of Avaris, which had been left empty by the shepherds. When they had possession of the city they revolted, and made Osarsiph, a priest of Heliopolis, their ruler, who afterward changed his name to Moses. He made many laws directly opposed to the customs of the Egyptians, forbidding them to worship their gods and sacred animals. He sent ambassadors to Jerusalem, to the shepherds, whom Tethmosis had driven

out, who gladly sent 200,000 men to their assistance, in hope of regaining the dominion of Egypt. Amenophis at first retreated to Ethiopia, whose king was his friend; but returning with a great force, slew many of the shepherds, and pursued the rest into Syria."

This is Manetho's account, and the reader will perceive at once how he has confounded the affairs of the Jews with the shepherds. It is this statement which has exposed Manetho to the strong suspicions of some. For ourselves, we venture to express the opinion, that the whole passage is unworthy of confidence. Bunsen, in his anxiety to save Manetho, says that "he relates it as a mere popular legend." Manetho, however, does not say so, and we do not believe he ever related it at all. To us it seems—we speak with deference toward others who differ from us—that there was a genuine Manetho, who probably was a man of character; that it is also probable he preserved some of the historical incidents of his country;—but there was also a spurious Manetho, that lived afterward; one who stole a respected name, and made it a cover for his falsehoods. It is quite probable that some matters recorded by the genuine Manetho may have come down to us in the fragments under his name; but those fragments contain, also, that which we believe he did not write; and this passage we think is not his. The obvious intention of the passage is to cast opprobrium upon the Jews, as unclean and leprous persons; and this passage appears at a very suspicious period. It purports to be the work of *a* Manetho who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Now it was in the reign of this very king that the septuagint version of the Scriptures, from Hebrew into Greek, was made; of course, the whole true story of the bondage and exode of

the Jews was made accessible, and could not but attract the attention of the learned in Egypt; and it was a story that reflected little honor on the Egyptians. Hence, to gratify national conceit, and wipe off national disgrace, it became necessary to put forth another version, more soothing to Egyptian pride, and more creditable to Egyptian character. The Jews are accordingly made odious as lepers, and we are furnished with a distorted picture of the residence of the Hebrews in, and their exode from Egypt, for the purpose of vindicating the conduct of the Egyptian government.

But whether the passage be from the pen of the true Manetho, or of one who put forth falsehoods under his name, is, for our present purpose, comparatively unimportant; for if written by the real Manetho, and if founded, as we are told *his* writings are, on ancient Egyptian records; then it must follow that, *according to the ancient records of Egypt itself*, there was a man called Moses, of a different race from the Egyptians; that he lived in Egypt, that he taught his countrymen to shun idolatry, and that, finally, he and they left Egypt together. Leper or no leper, these *facts* at least are distinctly and unequivocally recorded; and thus *the ancient Egyptian records bear testimony to the truth of the Bible.* Again, if we suppose the passage to have been the production of a spurious Manetho, then it is obvious, that long after the events of the bondage and exodus of the Hebrews, there must have existed some *traditionary* knowledge, at least in Egypt, of these great events; and that tradition must have preserved the facts above enumerated, and contained in the statement itself, (for we cannot suppose that writer to have merely drawn on his invention, and yet to have come so near historic truth;) and we respectfully submit whether such a tradition

could possibly have existed for centuries in Egypt, without a basis of fact, as to its grand features. Whether, therefore, the ancient records of Egypt, or centuries of tradition, preserved the *facts*, that Moses lived there, that he and his people were not Egyptians, that he denounced idolatry, and at last, that all left the country together, is quite unimportant; for in either case we are furnished with strong and undesigned testimony for the truth of at least one part of the Bible.

But this is not all. Manetho, without intending it, has furnished another example of incidental proof corroborating, in a striking manner, the Scriptures. The reader will remember, that he tells us the first shepherd kings were very much afraid of an invasion from the Assyrians. Now it so happens, that at the very date of the shepherd kings, (which we will demonstrate directly,) we learn from the Bible, that the Assyrians had actually established their power on this side of the Euphrates, and had even conquered part of Palestine.

Returning from this digression, which has been made for the purpose of presenting the incidental testimony for the Scriptures, unconsciously furnished by Manetho; we proceed to the ultimate object we have had in view in dwelling thus long, and we fear somewhat tediously, on the shepherd kings. That object is this. If Abraham, on his visit to Egypt, was not an "abomination" as being a shepherd; we mean now to show that it was because that part of Egypt in which he was, was ruled by shepherd kings, and inhabited by shepherds. The whole period of the intrusion of these shepherds, is stated by Manetho as having been 511 years, and it is clear that these years terminate at the exode of the Hebrews. We now refer to comparatively modern chronology, not contradicted by the "Egyptologists."

Hales makes the exode	1648	B.C.
Add to these the whole time of the shepherds . .	511	"
This makes the commencement of the shepherd rule	2159	"
Abraham was born (according to Hales)	2153	"

It is therefore obvious, that during Abraham's time there was abundant reason why he should not be slighted or despised in Egypt as being a shepherd.*

But the question may arise, whether the shepherd kings were known by the title Pharaoh; inasmuch as the Bible applies it to the reigning monarch of Egypt at the time of Abraham's visit. It would appear from all the light yet shed on the subject, that the shepherds, during their stay, had adopted the religion, the manners, and the customs of Egypt. Considerations derived from the monuments also justify the opinion, that the name, or rather title, of the first monarch of Egypt, *Phra*, became the generic title of all his successors.

9. *The gifts made to Abraham consisted of sheep, oxen, he and she-asses, men and maid-servants, camels, gold and silver.*

To this a German writer (Von Bohlen) objects as follows:

* Those whose curiosity may lead them to further investigation on the obscure and much-discussed subject of the shepherd kings, are referred to Bunsen, Hengstenberg, Wilkinson, Nolan, and the notes of Kitto in his Pictorial Bible, particularly to that on Gen. xlvi. 34. In that the reader will find a substantial agreement with the views expressed in the text, though there is a difference on the subject of Manetho. We gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity of making a distinct acknowledgment to this author for the very valuable aid we have derived from his labors, both in his Bible and his "Palestine." We have used them freely when they were applicable, not with the view of appropriating his toil, or robbing him of his merited honors, but to make our compilation more valuable to the general reader.

"The narrator mentions the animals of his own native land, a part of which Abraham could not receive in Egypt. He ascribes to him no *horses*, which were native to Egypt, as the relator is indeed aware. But, on the other hand, he mentions *sheep*, which are found in the marsh lands of Egypt" [Abraham's visit was to the lower part of Egypt] "as seldom as *camels* (hence these last are denied to the country by the ancient writers) and *asses*, which were specially odious to the Egyptians, on account of their color." Hengstenberg has very satisfactorily answered all this. Horses certainly were abundant among the Egyptians, as the monuments show. They were used chiefly in the war chariots; and though there were horsemen in Egypt, it is remarkable that but a single instance of a man on horseback has yet been found among the representations. But, common as the animal was in Egypt, it was not used among the Israelites until the time of the kings. There were none used, either in peace or war, in the time of Joshua. Horses were not likely, then, to be used in the earlier days of Abraham's time, when, as far as we know, the chief object of keeping them in Egypt did not exist in Canaan. If this be the reason why the horse was not among the gifts to Abraham; if the present would have been useless, because the habits of his country did not require its use; then, as Hengstenberg remarks, the omission of horses among the gifts, is a fact in favor of the true historical character and Mosaic origin of the narrative. For if the history had been compiled in the time of the kings or afterward, the horse (which was then used in Israel) would probably have been mentioned; since we cannot suppose the precise time of their introduction would have been accurately known. In fact, the introduction of the animal among the Israelites was gradual, and we have

no direct historical account of the time when it commenced. By an examination of many scattered passages, modern scholars have proved it to have been about the time of the kings; but the Israelites, after that day, finding horses in the country, troubled themselves not with an inquiry as to the time of their introduction. How many of our own countrymen can, at the present day, tell *when* and *how* the horse was introduced into America?

In all the enumerations of patriarchal wealth in the Bible, horses are never mentioned; *oxen* drew the tabernacle in the desert, and in truth, in the further history of the people descended from Abraham, we find that God specially forbade their kings to have many horses, or to trust to Egyptian cavalry; for his purpose was to hedge his people around from the temptation of coming into contact with idolaters, and Egypt would have been the great horse-market of the Israelites. The non-introduction of the horse by Abraham, may, therefore, have been a part of the providential designs of God for the future.

Von Bohlen, also, denies that there were asses in Egypt; but, as Hengstenberg says, it never occurred to any one before to deny it. There are numerous representations of them on the monuments.

It is also said there were no sheep. They are very often mentioned by ancient authors. Herodotus informs us that the Egyptians had them, so also does Diodorus. They may be seen in large numbers on the monuments; and numerous flocks of them were kept *near Memphis*, the region where Abraham was.

As to the camel, it is reasonable to infer, from present facts and usages, that it existed in ancient Egypt. Munitoli

thinks that he discovered traces of the representation of a camel on the obelisks at Luxor. They may not, however, have been very numerous in Abraham's day, yet the king of Egypt would possess them.

Men and maid-servants were also given. It has, by some, been deemed probable, that among these maid-servants was Hagar; for she is expressly said in Scripture to be an Egyptian. If this conjecture be well founded, it would serve to prove that, though the great body of slaves were foreigners and captives taken in war, yet that sometimes Egyptians held their own people in servitude. The monuments confirm this view.

10. *Abraham accepted the gifts of Pharaoh.*

However unnatural and unmanly such conduct may appear in our time and in our state of society, yet, as Kitto has remarked, those who are acquainted with the usages of the East, know that he dared not refuse them.

CHAPTER VI.

JOSEPH.

THE greater part of the life of Joseph having been passed in Egypt, many incidents in his career furnish us with the means of comparison, in the work on which we have entered. Indeed, from the time of his sale to Potiphar, through the bondage, up to the exode, the Jews are brought into uninterrupted intercourse with the Egyptians for several hundred years. In this period, therefore, we may expect to meet with abundant facts, to the consideration of which we now proceed.

The story of Joseph, touchingly simple and beautiful in the Scripture narrative, is so familiar, that any outline of it here would be perfectly needless, but for the advantage of bringing at once into view the facts connected with our subject. We shall condense it as much as we can.

At the age of seventeen, he incurred the displeasure of his brothers, "who hated him, and could not speak peaceably to him," and this aversion was, soon after, carried to the highest pitch. Availing themselves of a favorable opportunity, they sold him to a caravan of Arabian merchants, who were bearing spices and aromatic gums of India, to the well-known and much frequented market of Egypt. On arriving in Egypt, the merchants disposed of their young slave, by sale, to

Potiphar, an Egyptian, at that time high in office in the court of Pharaoh. Here he possessed his master's confidence, and prospered. At length his personal beauty excited the libidinous passions of his master's wife; and on his virtuous rejection of her wanton allurements, she contrives, with much art, to make it appear to her husband that Joseph had aimed a blow at his master's honor, by tempting her. Her unprincipled falsehood succeeds, and Joseph is cast into prison. At length, his correct interpretation of the dreams of two of Pharaoh's officers who were in prison with him, leads to his being summoned before Pharaoh to interpret for him also. He predicts a period of plenty, to be succeeded by an equal period of famine; and recommends measures to the king for averting the calamity foretold. Charged by Pharaoh with the execution of these measures, he rises to a station of eminence, and marries an Egyptian lady of rank: and his own name is changed to an Egyptian one. At length famine drives his brethren (who had sold him) to Egypt to procure food, when, after many interesting incidents, he makes himself known to them, and at length establishes all his family, including his aged father, in Goshen. After death his body, as that of his father's had before been, is embalmed, and both finally rest in a distant land.

We now enter, in detail, upon the facts brought to our notice by the history of Joseph.

1. *He was sold by his brethren to Arabian merchants, travelling with their spices, &c., to Egypt.*

"Then there passed by Midianites, merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit, and sold Joseph

to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver: and they brought Joseph into Egypt." GEN. xxxvii. 28.

Were Arabian caravans accustomed at that time to go into Egypt with merchandise? There seems to be no doubt that they were. Among other facts tending to prove it, Sir Gardner Wilkinson refers to certain wells in the desert over which the caravans were obliged to pass; and states that, as appears from the monuments, the king Amun-în gori II. (of the 16th dynasty), caused a station to be erected at the Wady Jasoos, to command these wells for the comfort of the caravans passing from Arabia into Egypt. The same respectable authority deems it "highly probable that the port of Philoteras or Ænnum, on the Red Sea, was already founded;" and adds, "thus we have an additional reason for concluding, the commerce with Arabia to have commenced at a very early period; and that its gums and spices found a ready market in the opulent Egypt, is sufficiently proved by the Ishmaelites or Arabs of those days bringing them for sale into the lower country." Heeren expresses also a similar opinion as to the very early commerce between Arabia and Egypt.

2. *Joseph "was sold to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver."*

The expression is usual in Scripture "pieces of silver," "pieces of money;" but we do nowhere find, in these early times, mention made of any specific *coin* having a fixed value. Had such been the case here, it would have thrown suspicion on the story. History offers no intimation that, any where, either in the east or west, coined money existed, until many hundred years after the date of this transaction. In fact, it seems doubtful whether coined or stamped money is of oriental

origin. The precious metals passed *by weight*, in the form of ingots, bars, and rings; and such the monuments now show to have been the case in Egypt. The Greeks, we know, had coined money before the Egyptians, and nations of Western Asia had it. The incident here mentioned therefore, though in itself considered it is comparatively trifling, yet deserves to be noted because it is in harmony with the customs of that day.

3. *Joseph was sold for a household slave.*

"And the Midianites sold him into Egypt unto Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the guard." GEN. xxxvii. 36.

In addition to the remarks already submitted on the subject of slavery in the last chapter, we would here observe, that probably, the first slaves were prisoners taken in war; and that the traffic in slaves arose from the fact that these prisoners at length came to be sold by their captors, to persons who had not known them in war at all, nor ever met them as enemies. The next step was that of buying up as slaves, any persons offered for sale, though they were not taken in war,—solely as a speculation. These purchased persons were carried to a distant market, and sold at a profit: and Egypt always has been, and is yet, a great market for slaves. On this subject, Sir Gardner Wilkinson thus embodies what he has collected from the monuments.

"The captives brought to Egypt were employed in the service of the monarch in building temples, cutting canals, raising dykes and embankments, and other public works; and some who were purchased by the grandees, were employed in the same capacity as the Memlooks of the present. Women

slaves were also engaged in the service of families, like the Greeks and Circassians in Modern Egypt and other parts of the Turkish empire; and from finding them represented in the sculptures of Thebes, accompanying men of their own nation who bear tribute to the Eygptian monarch, we may conclude that a certain number were annually sent to Egypt from the conquered provinces of the north and east, as well as from Ethiopia. It is evident that both white and black slaves were employed as servants. They attended on the guests when invited to the house of their master; and from their being in the families of priests, as well as of the military chiefs, we may infer that they were purchased with money, and that the right of possessing slaves was not confined to those who had taken them in war. The traffic in slaves was tolerated; and it is reasonable to suppose that many persons were engaged, as at present, in bringing them to Egypt for public sale, independent of those who were sent as part of the tribute, and who were probably at first the property of the monarch. Nor did any difficulty occur to the Ishmaelites in the purchase of Joseph from his brethren, nor in his subsequent sale to Potiphar on arriving in Eygpt."

4. *He was sold to "Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the guard."*

We should not have deemed it necessary to call attention to this part of the story, had it not been made the foundation of a very causeless objection. The original word סריס, *saris*, translated officer, literally means *eunuch;* and hence a German writer objects; because, he says, there were no eunuchs in Egypt. This is not true, as he might have learned from

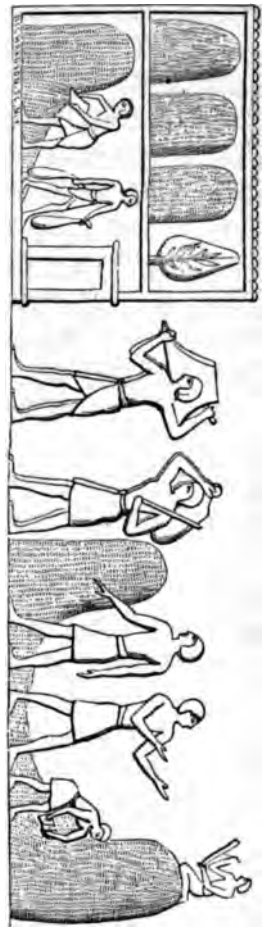
Rosellini, and the "Description de l'Egypte." Both furnish monumental proof that it is not true. The translators of our Bible, to the word "officer," add this marginal note: "Heb. *Eunuch;* but the word doth signify, not only *eunuchs*, but also *chamberlains*, *courtiers*, and *officers*. Esth. i. 10." It is conceded that the primary meaning is eunuch, but as such persons were, in the East, usually employed about the court in situations of trust, the word came to signify any courtier or palace officer, whether he were an eunuch or not. Potiphar is also called "captain of the guard." The marginal note in our English translation is, "Heb: *chief of the slaughtermen* or *executioners*, or *chief marshal*." That the Pharaohs had a body-guard is expressly stated by Herodotus; and is also proved by battle scenes, &c., on the monuments, where such a guard is seen around the person of the king, and is distinguished by a particular dress. Potiphar, as captain of this band, was the chief of the executioners: but it must be remembered that, at the East, this is a high *court* office; he was no common headsman, for he executed the sentences or awards only that were pronounced by the king himself. His office was considered one of great honor and responsibility; and the incidental allusion to it in the story, shows on the part of its author, minutely accurate information as to the customs and usages of the Pharaonic court.

5. *Joseph was made overseer of Pharaoh's house.*

"And Joseph found grace in his sight and he served him: and he made him overseer of his house, and all that he had, he put into his hand." GEN. xxxix. 4.

This is a peculiar and characteristic feature of Egyptian life. The monuments furnish numerous evidences of it. The

steward or overseer is often delineated. Rosellini has the copy of a painting from a tomb at Beni Hassan, and remarks of it,—"in this scene, as also in many others which exhibit the internal economy of a house, a man carrying implements for writing,—the pen over his ear, the tablet or paper in his hand, and the writing-table under his arm,—either follows or goes before the servants." And all doubt is removed as to the office and character of this personage, by an inscription over him stating that he is the overseer of the slaves, or the steward.



Wilkinson has also the drawing of an Egyptian steward "overlooking the tillage of the lands." "Among the objects of tillage and husbandry" (says Rosellini), "we often see a steward, who takes account and makes a registry of the harvest, before it is deposited in the storehouse." A representation of such a scene is annexed, where the steward is placed on the top of a heap of grain, while one of the men below is informing him of the amount of work done, and accompanying his statement of numbers with manual signs.

"In a tomb at Kum el Ahmar," (according to Rosellini,) "the office of a steward with all its apparatus is represented:

two scribes appear with all their preparations for writing, and there are three rows of volumes, the account and household books of the steward."

6. *Potiphar's wife seeks to seduce Joseph.*

We have here first to remark the low state of morals among the Egyptians, with reference to the marriage relation. Have we any ground for believing there was a laxity of principle in this particular? Herodotus and Diodorus both state that there was. We have already seen, from the monuments, the great liberty allowed to the women of Egypt, and the sensuality which prompted them to excess in drinking. It is not difficult, in such a state of society as these representations indicate, to believe the accounts of Herodotus.

It will be remembered that, according to the Scripture narrative, Potiphar's wife availed herself of an opportunity to seduce Joseph, when he came into the house "to do his business; and there was none of the men of the house then within." (GEN. xxxix. 11.) To this it has been objected by some of the German school, that the statement betrays an ignorance of Egyptian customs: that it would not have been permitted to Joseph to come into the presence of the women, much less into the harem. Another objector remarks that the author of the Pentateuch here leaves the representation of the custom in the house of a distinguished Egyptian, to describe that which existed in a common domestic establishment. The ignorance is on the side of the critics; neither in the house of a distinguished, nor of a common Egyptian, was there any restriction placed on the ordinary intercourse of the sexes. We have already seen that from the monuments. Those who made the objection, *inferred* that there must have been such a restriction in Egypt from the fact of its existence throughout

the East generally; and had the author of the Pentateuch been writing a story made up of probable inferences, he would have fallen into the error that we have seen in these objectors. That he did not do so, but discriminated between Egypt and the rest of the East in this particular, goes far to strengthen the impression that he drew from the life.

7. Joseph in prison, interprets the dreams of the chief baker and butler.

Here, several particulars present themselves that call for a passing remark. The existence of such officers as the chief butler and baker, afford renewed testimony of the fact of an advanced and complex state of social life; of which we presume that our readers are by this time convinced. But if additional evidence were wanting, it is abundantly afforded by the monuments. Rosellini has depicted the kitchen scenes upon the tomb of Remeses IV. at Biban el Moluk;—"from all these representations" (says he), "it is clear that the Egyptians were accustomed to prepare many kinds of pastry for the table, as we see the very same kinds spread out upon the altars and tables which are represented in the tombs. They made even bread in many and various forms. These articles are found in the tombs kneaded from barley or wheat, in the form of a star, a triangle, a disk, and other such like things." Wilkinson also furnishes delineations of similar articles which he found.

According to the baker's dream, he was carrying three wicker-baskets *on his head*, filled with the productions of his skill. The monuments show us the form of these flat wicker-baskets, of which, from the shape, one might be placed above another. But the peculiarity here is in the mode of carrying

them,—on his head. This is to this day characteristic of the Egyptians, and we believe, peculiar to them among Eastern nations. Herodotus speaks of the custom as being singular in his eyes. "Men bear burdens on their heads, and women on their shoulders." We present an example taken from the monuments, in which the servant is kneeling to facilitate the removal of his load.

Egyptian mode of bearing on the head.

The head butler, it will be remembered, in his dream saw a *vine.* This has been made a ground of objection to the truth of the narrative. Herodotus has stated, that the vine did not grow in Egypt. This furnishes one, among other instances which might be cited, wherein Herodotus was

mistaken. The vine did grow in Egypt; and Sir Gardner Wilkinson has furnished the most abundant proof of the fact in various drawings from the monuments, showing not merely the vine growing, but also the whole process of converting the grape into wine.

8. *Joseph is sent for, to interpret Pharaoh's dream.*

The first particular here to be noticed, is the preparation Joseph makes to appear before Pharaoh; "and he *shaved* himself," &c., "and came in unto Pharaoh." To us, with our habits, there may appear to be nothing but what, under similar circumstances, we ourselves should do; but if carefully considered, this is one of the many passages to be found, in which the truth of the Scripture story is attested by a casual and slight allusion to remarkable customs, which a mere inventor would not be likely to introduce at all; or at any rate, to introduce without explanation. Most oriental nations have always cherished the beard, and do so to this day. The loss of it is regarded as a disgrace. Such was undoubtedly the feeling of the Hebrews. Now in this common trait of orientalism, the Egyptians did not share. The monuments and paintings generally represent to us the male Egyptians as beardless. Some of the sculptures indeed sometimes show a species of rectangular beard-case, attached to the chin by straps or bands, which, passing by the side of the face, were fastened to the cap. It is evidently an artificial appendage, and it has been conjectured that it was used on the monuments to indicate the male character. Certain it is, however, that the great mass of Egyptian men in the sculptures, are represented without beards.

On the subject of shaving their beards, Wilkinson remarks:

"so particular were they on this point, that to have neglected it was a subject of reproach and ridicule; and whenever they intended to convey the idea of a man of low condition, or a slovenly person, the artists represented him with a beard." The priests shaved the head as well as the beard; and others who did not the first, wore their hair cropped as close as possible. When the monuments show us heads with abundant and long hair, the individual delineated is wearing a wig, of which Wilkinson furnishes us with drawings. From Rosellini, we learn that this custom of the Egyptians with respect to the hair and beard, was considered by the neighboring nations, and especially by the Asiatics, as peculiar and characteristic. Hence Joseph (who was not an Egyptian, and who had been several years in prison, where he permitted his beard to grow) would not dare to enter the presence of Pharaoh without shaving; and the particularity with which the writer mentions the circumstance, shows that, among orientals generally, to shave was not a matter of course; and next, that he knew the customs of Egypt rendered the act, on the part of Joseph, indispensable.

The next point calling for remark, is the dream of Pharaoh; for it is in perfect accordance with Egyptian opinions, and can scarce be the invention of an author who is relating mere fables. It will be remembered that the chief feature of the one dream, is the appearance of seven fat and seven lean kine; and the destruction of the former by the latter. We learn from Clement of Alexandria, that in the symbolical writings of the Egyptians, the ox signified agriculture and subsistence; and as the Nile (out of which the cattle came) was the source of Egypt's fertility, there is a peculiar Egyp-

tian appropriateness in the mode adopted to prefigure an abundance and subsequent dearth of the fruits of the earth.

There was also an apt and striking significancy in the second dream, in the seven ears of corn [wheat] that came up on one stalk. Some have sought for an explanation of this, in the number of separate stalks germinating from a single seed. Thus Jowett, in his *Christian Researches*, states that he "counted the number of stalks which sprouted from single grains of seed, carefully pulling to pieces each root, in order to see that it was one plant. The first had seven stalks; the next three; then eighteen; then fourteen. Each stalk would bear an ear." But an easier solution is found in the species of wheat, the *Triticum compositum*, or Egyptian wheat as it is sometimes called; which was then, and still is extensively cultivated in Egypt, and indeed, as we are inclined to think, originated there. It is the peculiarity of this species that it bears several ears on one stalk; and it is not unknown, at this day, on our own continent, for it grows in California, and there usually produces seven ears to the stalk. We have not been able to ascertain that this species of wheat was cultivated in Palestine by the Hebrews, or that it will grow there; for though all the varieties of wheat cannot be found in a natural state, and therefore all probably are but modifications from a common original; yet will not *all* grow in every climate or soil. The best and heaviest wheat of Palestine was and is the variety now known as Heshbon wheat; because discovered at Heshbon, by Captain Mangles. Laborde describes the same, but this wheat does not yield several ears to a single stalk. The writer of the Pentateuch, therefore, here incidentally describes a production of the earth, which

he probably never could have seen in Palestine; and which was, as far as we can learn, peculiar at that day, to Egypt.

Pharaoh, as we read, "sent and called for all the magicians of Egypt, and all the wise men thereof," to interpret his dreams. We meet with these men here, and again, as we shall see hereafter. Who were these magi or wise men? Do we learn, from the antiquities of Egypt, that any such class was known? We do find in ancient Egypt an order of men, to whom that which is here ascribed to the magicians, is perfectly appropriate.

"The priests" (says Hengstenberg) "had a double office; the practical worship of the gods, and the pursuit of that which, in Egypt, was accounted as wisdom. The first belonged to the so called prophets, the second to the holy scribes (ἱερογραμματεῖς). These last were the learned men of the nation; as in the Pentateuch they are called *wise men*, so the classical writers named them *sages*. These men were applied to for explanation and aid in all things which lay beyond the circle of common knowledge and action. Thus, in severe cases of sickness, for example, along with the physician a scribe was called, who, from a book and astrological signs, determined whether recovery was possible. The interpretation of dreams, and also divination, belonged to the order of the holy scribes. In times of pestilence, they applied themselves to magic arts to avert the disease. A passage in Lucian furnishes a peculiarly interesting parallel to the accounts of the Pentateuch concerning the practice of magic arts:—"There was with us in the vessel, a man of Memphis, one of the holy scribes, wonderful in wisdom, and skilled in all sorts of Egyptian knowledge. It was said of him, that he

had lived twenty-three years in subterranean sanctuaries, and that he had there been instructed in magic by Isis."

9. *Joseph's elevation to office and honor by Pharaoh.* Under this head, several particulars invite our notice.

I. Pharaoh says: "Thou shalt be *over my house;*" and, "see, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt."

II. Pharaoh "took off his ring from his hand, and put it on Joseph's hand."

III. He "arrayed him in vestures of fine *linen.*"

IV. He "put a gold chain about his neck."

V. He changed Joseph's name to an Egyptian one.

VI. He married him to *Asenath.*

VII. Her father was Potipherah, priest of On.

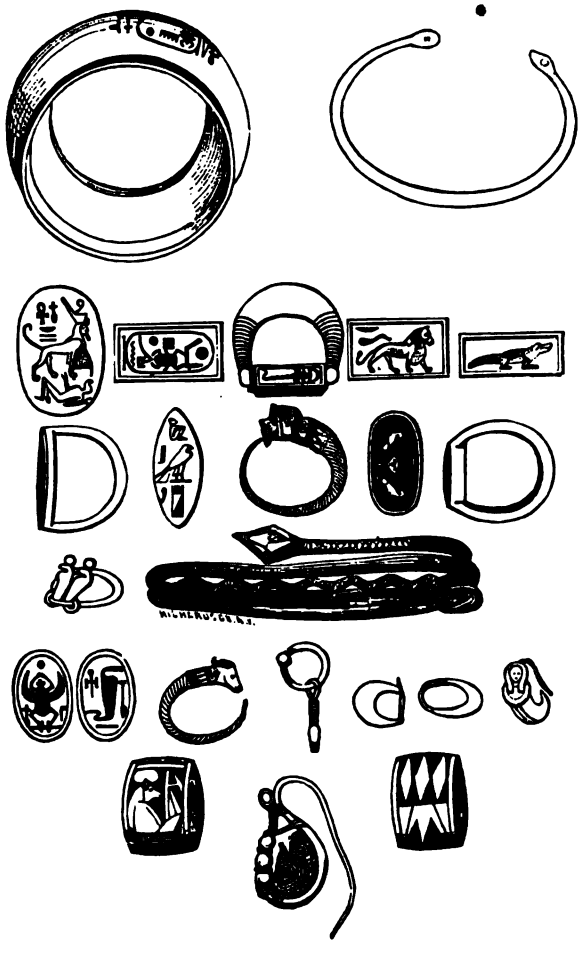
"Over my house."—We have had occasion already, in speaking of the confidence reposed in Joseph by Potiphar, to advert to the office of a steward among the Egyptians, so often delineated on the monuments. This honorable station in the East, is one of far more authority and power than any thing, in our own state of society, would suggest. The phrase "over my house," would have imported magisterial power in Egypt, if used by a subject of high rank merely: but here, when it is used by the king himself, it at once places Joseph before every man in the kingdom but the sovereign; for Pharaoh immediately adds, "according unto thy word, shall all my people be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou." Despotism is the characteristic of all oriental governments; and to this day, the grant of almost unlimited powers to the sovereign's representative is to be found. The vizier, the pachas, and even the beys of the Sultan, have even now absolute power of life and death; and

all may, and do, with impunity, practise the most revolting cruelties. There is, therefore, nothing inconsistent with orientalism in this large grant of power to Joseph.

Pharaoh gives to Joseph his ring. This was an act of investiture, such as is not entirely foreign to the usages of Europe, in the middle ages. But here, the ring was a signet or seal ring, delivered, precisely as it is at this day, to the king's chief officer, for the purpose, by its impress, of attesting his official acts as the acts of royalty. The more usual mode in the East of authenticating a document, is not by a written signature, but by the seal. The orientals have seals in which their names and titles are engraved; with this they make an impression with thick ink on occasions where we should affix our signatures with the pen. To give a man your seal, therefore, is to give him the use of that authority and power which your own signature possesses. Hence the extraordinary interest manifested about seals in the laws and usages of the East. In Eygpt, the punishment for counterfeiting a seal was the loss of both hands. The seal-cutter in Persia is, at this day, obliged to keep a register of every seal he makes, and to affix the date at which it was cut. To make another like it, is punished with death. If the seal be lost or stolen, the only resource of its owner is to have another cut, *with a new date*, and to inform his correspondent that all documents attested by his former seal are null from the time of its loss. That the ring given to Joseph was Pharaoh's signet-ring, appears from other passages which show that it was used for sealing.

But one of the German school of critics, remarking on this transaction, writes:—"It is scarcely, however, necessary to mention that these objects of luxury, especially polished stones, belonged to a later time." This is a striking instance

of bold and unfounded assertion. There is at this moment, in the very valuable cabinet of Dr. Abbot at Cairo, a large collection of bracelets, rings, seals, &c., some of which are



Egyptian signet-rings, and bracelets.

undoubtedly remains of the time of Cheops in the fourth dynasty, a period long anterior to the days of Abraham. Indeed, there is in the collection, a golden bracelet bearing the hieroglyphic of Menes; but of the genuineness of this, we think doubts may well be entertained. These are cut, some in stone, and some in gold. The evidence from the monuments also most abundantly refutes the assertion of the German neologist. We subjoin a specimen of signet-rings, with a bracelet or two, copied from the monuments, which may not be without interest for the reader.

Of one of these rings, it will be observed that the stone is a cube, made to turn on pivots; on the different sides of which were different inscriptions. Some of these ornaments appear to have been designed for ear-rings.

Pharaoh also arrayed Joseph "in vestures of fine *linen*." Few subjects have provoked more discussion among the learned than the question, whether the Egyptians had in ancient times any knowledge of cotton; some having supposed that the word rendered *linen* in our version, really means *cotton*. At length it was supposed that the microscope had settled the question. The coverings or swathings of the mummies were examined by Mr. Bauer, and he found that they were linen. The ultimate fibre of cotton, under the microscope, appears to be a transparent, flattened tube without joints, and twisted like a corkscrew: while the fibres of linen, and of the mummy cloths, are transparent cylinders, jointed like a cane, and neither flattened, nor spirally twisted. And as Herodotus states that the Egyptians wrapped their dead in cloth of the byssus, it was concluded that byssus meant *flax*. But Rosellini afterward "found the seeds of the cotton plant in a vessel in the tombs of Egypt;" and Dr. Bowring, it is

said, has ascertained that "the mummy cloth of a child was formed of cotton and not of linen, as is the case with adult mummies."

Whether the ancient Egyptians, however, had any knowledge of cotton or not, it is very certain that the cultivation of flax and the use of linen among them was very general. Herodotus informs us that they were so regardful of neatness that they wore only linen, and that always newly washed: the priesthood, also, he tells us, was confined to one particular mode of dress; they had one vest of fine linen.

Without undertaking to settle the disputed point to which we have referred above, we pass to the more important particular that this arraying of Joseph in vestures of *byssus*, was an additional act of investiture in his high office. At this day in the East, a dress of honor accompanies promotion in the royal service. In a tomb at Thebes, as we learn from Wilkinson, "an instance occurs of the investiture of a chief to the post of fan-bearer; in which the two attendants or inferior priests are engaged in clothing him with the robes of his new office. One puts on the necklace, the other arranges his dress;—a fillet being already bound round his head," &c.:—"the office of fan-bearer to the king was a highly honorable post, which none but the royal princes, or the sons of the first nobility, were permitted to hold."

Pharaoh put a gold chain about Joseph's neck.

This also was another part of the ceremonial of investiture. On this subject the monuments afford the most satisfactory explanations. As Hengstenberg writes: "In the tombs of Beni Hassan, many slaves are represented, each of whom has in his hand something which belongs to the dress or ornaments of his master. The first carries one of the necklaces

with which the neck and breast of persons of high rank are generally adorned. Over it stands, '*necklace of gold.*' At Beni Hassan there is also a similar representation, in another tomb, of a noble Egyptian."

Investing with the necklace.

Wilkinson has a representation from Thebes, which he applies as illustrative of the very incident we are now considering. "The investiture of a chief," thus he writes, "was a ceremony of considerable importance, when the post conferred was connected with any high dignity about the person of the monarch, in the army, or the priesthood. It took place in the presence of the sovereign, seated on his throne; and two priests, having arrayed the candidate in a long, loose vesture, placed necklaces round the neck of the person thus honored by the royal favor."

EGYPTIAN NECKLACES AND OTHER ORNAMENTS.

Pharaoh changed Joseph's name to an Egyptian one. Our version gives us, as the new name, *Zaphnath-Paaneah.* The Septuagint gives us *Psonthom-phanech*, and Josephus *Psothom-phanech.* Egyptian scholars herein recognize the Egyptian word PSOTOMFENEH, meaning the "salvation," or the "saviour of the age." Jerome translates it "*salvator mundi.*" Gesenius makes the Egyptian word—PSONTMFENEH, *i. e.* "sustainer of the age."

This custom of changing names, still prevails in the East. One of the most striking instances is in the case of the Persian king Suffee, whose reign commenced in 1667. The first years of his sway were marked by calamities; and having been persuaded that these were, in some mode, connected with his name, he changed it, and with many solemn ceremonies, assumed that of Solyman. All the seals and coins bearing the name of Suffee were broken, as if Suffee were dead; and he was crowned anew by the name of Solyman. Here doubtless the change was designed to honor Joseph, in acknowledgment of the obligations of Pharaoh to him; and also to *naturalize him* as an Egyptian. The latter is an important point, when subsequent events are considered.

Pharaoh married Joseph to *Asenath.*

There has been some discussion concerning this name. The Hebrew form, given above, and the Septuagint, *Aseneth*, are considered by Jablonski as the Coptic compound word, ASSHE-NEIT, which he interprets, *worshipper of Neith*, the titular goddess of Sais. Gesenius supposes the name to be in Coptic, ASSNEITH, signifying *belonging to Neith.* Champollion, however, read the name on an Egyptian relic of enamelled earth, in the cabinet of the French king, Charles X.; and he translated the hieroglyphic, "*belonging*

to Isis." All these explanations are rendered probable from the fact, which we know, that it was usual among the Egyptians to make names, expressive of some relation to their gods; and this was the more likely to be done in the case of a priest's daughter. At any rate, Champollion's discovery shows that there was such a person as Asenath.

She was the "daughter of Potipherah, priest of On."

The word priest, is in the margin of our version translated also, prince; and properly enough, because in Egypt, the priest of one of the cities was also its prince or chief ruler under Pharaoh, who was not only king, but also over all the priesthood as high priest. It is the same name as that we have already considered, Potiphar; and means "*of*, or *belonging to the sun.*" ON (signifying in ancient Coptic the sun) is the same place that is called in Jeremiah xliii. 13, Beth-shemesh (house of the sun): the Septuagint calls it in Greek, Heliopolis (city of the sun): the old Egyptian name Re-ei or Ei-re is of the same import, "abode of the sun." It is of great antiquity as the monuments show: there is an obelisk there bearing the name of Osirtasen, showing that the place must have had existence at a period before the times of Joseph. Strabo speaks of the great antiquity of its temple in his day.

It is evident that Pharaoh, by marrying Joseph into an Egyptian family of distinction, meant to give stability to the new and extraordinary powers with which he had invested him. Two things, therefore, may fairly be inferred; first, that the Egyptian high priest occupied a very elevated position of influence; and next, that among the Egyptian priesthood, the most distinguished was the priest of On. History confirms both these particulars.

As to the first point, Heeren remarks: "The priesthood

belonging to each temple were again organized among themselves with the greatest exactness. They had a high priest, whose office was also hereditary. It is scarcely necessary to mention, that the stations of the high priests in the principal cities in Egypt were first and highest. They were in a manner hereditary princes, who stood by the side of the kings, and enjoyed almost the same prerogatives. * * * * * Their statues were placed in the temples. When they are introduced into history, they appear as the first persons of the state."

As to the second point, Herodotus speaks of the priests of Heliopolis as the most learned among the Egyptians; while the most ancient accounts of the city describe it as not only famous for its temple, but as the principal seat of learning in Egypt, and the usual resort of foreigners who wished to learn "the wisdom of the Egyptians."

When Strabo visited the place, he was shown the houses in which Eudoxus and Plato were said to have studied thirteen years under the Heliopolite priests. It was then a deserted city; for Cambyses had been there: and after his invasion, it was no longer the great school of Egypt. At a subsequent day, Alexandria became the chief seat of Egpytian learning.

But to the Scriptural account, according, as it does remarkably, with what we know to have been, at that day, the state of things in Egypt, an objection is made from the usual source. A German critic tells us, that "an alliance of intolerant priests with a foreign shepherd is entirely opposed to the character of the Egyptians." Two facts are here asserted, first, that such a marriage could not have taken place; and secondly, that the Egyptians were very intolerant. The

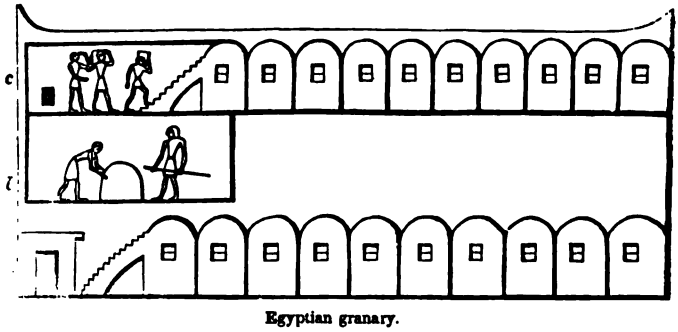
first is an error, the last a truth. The critic overlooks the peculiar circumstances of preparation for this marriage, as well as the peculiar relative position of Pharaoh and Potiphar. Joseph was not married to Asenath while he was a foreign shepherd, an obscure alien; but after he had become a naturalized Egyptian, and assumed the Egyptian dress and name. Beside, a Pharaoh had commanded it, and a Potiphar did not dare to disobey; for he who ordered, possessed a double sovereignty over him whom he commanded. He was not only his king, but he was also the chief priest over all the priesthood. As to the intolerance of the Egyptians, and their assumed superiority to all strangers, the critic admits it; and it is strange that he did not in this very transaction find one of the strongest manifestations of its exhibition, when even a Pharaoh, in overcoming it, found it necessary not only to make Joseph a naturalized Egyptian, but also to allay Egyptian prejudice, and strengthen Joseph's hands by an alliance with a noble family. Except as an Egyptian by naturalization, and as the husband of Asenath, Egyptian intolerance would probably never have submitted to his rule. The story, therefore, is in harmony with the known historical fact of Egyptian conceit and intolerance.

10. *During the seven years of plenty, Joseph collected the fruits of the earth and laid them up.*

The monuments furnish numerous representations, illustrative and confirmatory of the labors of Joseph during the seven years of plenty. "In one of the grottoes of Eleithuias, a man is depicted whose business it evidently was to take an account of the number of bushels, which another man, acting

under him, measures. The inscription over him is, "The writer, or registrar of bushels, *Thutnofre*." Then follows the transportation of the grain. From the measurer, others take it in sacks and carry it to the storehouses.

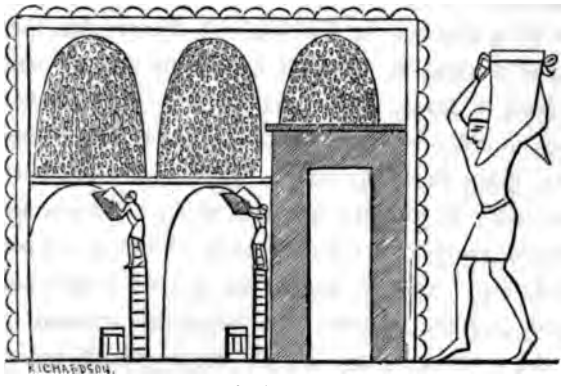
"At Beni Hassan, in the tomb of Amenemhe, there is a painting of a great storehouse; before the door of which lies a large heap of grain, already winnowed. The measurer fills a bushel, in order to pour it out into the sacks of those who carry the grain to the granary. The bearers go to the door of the storehouse, and lay down their sacks before an officer who stands ready to receive the corn. This is the owner of the storehouse. Near by stands the bushel with which it is measured, and the registrar who takes the account. At the side of the windows, there are characters which indicate the quantity of the mass which is deposited in the magazine." (*Hengstenberg*, *Kitto*.)



Egyptian granary.

From the cuts, it will be seen that the granaries consisted of a series of vaulted chambers. The grain was carried by means of steps to the top of these, when it was cast through an opening at the top. In the other cut, this opening is seen;

as is also the sliding door at the bottom of the vault, by which the grain was removed when needed.



Storing corn.

In our history we read: "And Joseph gathered corn as the sand of the sea, very much, *until he left numbering*." An illustration of this may be found in a cut on a previous page,* representing the numberer as sitting on a heap of corn, and receiving an account from a man standing below, who is using his hands to express the numbers.

11. *The famine of the seven years of dearth "was over all lands."*

We have already seen, that *ordinarily*, when there was famine in other countries of the East, their inhabitants looked to Egypt for a supply of food: but in this instance the famine reached Egypt also. Hence it has been said, that the author of the Pentateuch proves himself to be ignorant of the natural

* Vide ante, page 129.

condition of Egypt; for that in that country, a famine never occurs. We will dispose of that assertion first. It is boldly made, as most of Von Bohlen's assertions are, and betrays his own ignorance of the subject. The truth is that the swelling of the Nile a few feet only above or below a certain point, is alike destructive to the productions of the country: and there is scarcely a land on the face of the earth in which famine has raged so terribly as in this very Egypt; or in which measures, similar to those adopted by Joseph, could have been more needed. Ordinarily, the Nile is very uniform in its rise and fall: when it is so, abundance is the result: but it is not always so; and as its abundance in a favorable season is probably beyond that of any equal extent of cultivated land on the globe; so, as a counterpoise, its famine in an unfavorable year, exceeds in scarcity that of any other country of equal extent. In other lands watered by rains, the failure of food may not be total; if one crop fail, there still may be a chance left that refreshing rains will enable men to make a crop of some other production, in the course of the season, which will sustain life: but Egypt has no season but one, no watering of her land but once in the year; and if that fail, she is utterly without resource.

But history on this subject is explicit enough. There is a writer, Makrizi, who has found materials for a whole volume in the narratives of famines in Egypt. The accounts that have come down to us, are full of horrors. De Sacy gives this relation from Abdollatiph, an Arabian writer: "In the year 569 [of the Hegira, 1199 of our era], the height of the flood was small almost without example. The consequence was a terrible famine, accompanied by indescribable enormities. Parents consumed their children, human flesh was in fact a

very common article of food; they contrived various ways of preparing it. They spoke of it, and heard it spoken of, as an indifferent affair. Man-catching became a regular business. The greater part of the population were swept away by death. In the following year, also, the inundation did not reach the proper height, and only the low lands were overflowed. Also much of that which was inundated could not be sown for want of laborers and seed; much was destroyed by worms which devoured the seed-corn; also of the seed which escaped this destruction, a great part produced only meagre shoots which perished." Makrizi gives an account of a famine in the year 457 of the Hegira, not at all less severe than that described above. So much then, for the assertion that Egypt never knows famine.

But the peculiarity here is, not only that Egypt knew famine, but that other lands were simultaneously suffering. This was unusual, though history shows that there have been such occurrences. Makrizi describes a famine in 444 of the Hegira, which, like this, extended at the same time over Syria, and reached even to Bagdad. Now (thus say the objectors), as Egypt derived her fertility from the Nile, and other nations from occasional rains, it is not probable that there would be a simultaneous famine. Generally there would not be; and yet, from known physical causes it is perfectly obvious that such an event might occur. Even Herodotus knew that the waters causing an increase in the Nile, were the result of the tropical rains in the mountains of Abyssinia. To the *quantity* of water falling in these rains, *two* causes contribute, which in different years, may make them more or less. The one cause is in the formation of rain-clouds in Abyssinia itself, attracted by the mountains and

discharging their contents on them: the other cause (as has been well explained by Le Père in the *Descript. de l'Egpyte*) is, that at a certain season of the year, a long-continued and steady wind, coming from the north, blows over the whole length of Egypt, as every traveller on the Nile has reason to know. This wind drives the water-clouds that are formed on the Mediterranean, and carries them toward the high lands of Abyssinia; here, the contiguity of mountains produces the usual effect, the clouds are attracted, become surcharged, and empty themselves. Now, it is very plain, that in some years rain enough might fall on the mountains of Abyssinia, *independent of any clouds from the Mediterranean*, to afford the Nile a sufficient supply; in which case *Egypt would have abundance*, though *Syria* and the countries adjacent to the Mediterranean *might then suffer* for want of the Mediterranean rains on which they *entirely* depend. So, also, it is equally plain that if the Mediterranean rains should from any cause be deficient, and, at the same time, less than the usual local rains of the Abyssinian Mountains should fall, both Egypt and Syria, with other adjacent countries, would simultaneously suffer from drought, and might therefore simultaneously experience famine. But whatever may be the scientific explanation of such a result, the *fact* stares us in the face that it has actually occurred. Now, had the author of the Pentateuch been drawing on his invention for the incidents of his story, we scarcely think his scientific knowledge would have enabled him to understand the natural causes which made such an event as a simultaneous famine possible; and he would, therefore, have framed his story to suit the fact so well known, in his day, that Egypt depended for her fertility on the river, and not on local rains; and con-

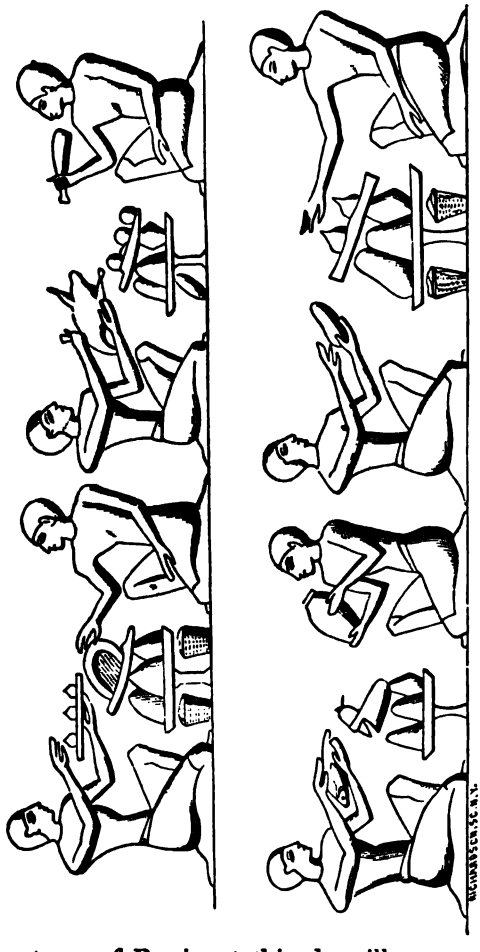
sequently would not have risked the seeming improbability, to the men of that time, of a famine, as well in Egypt as out of it. Therefore, that he does relate the fact of such a famine is, to our mind at least, evidence that he did *not* draw on his invention.

12. *Joseph entertains his brethren on their second visit to Egypt.*

There is here, in the Scripture narrative, a somewhat minute enumeration of circumstances, worthy of notice. Joseph said, "Set on bread. And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians which did eat with him, by themselves: because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians. And they sat before him:—and he took and sent messes unto them from before him; but Benjamin's mess was five times so much as any of theirs."

The refusal of the ancient Egyptians to have familiar intercourse with foreigners in eating, is fully sustained by history. Herodotus remarks on it, and assigns as one reason, that strangers ate food which the Egyptians deemed sacred. This feeling was carried very far: "Neither will any man or woman among them kiss a Grecian, nor use a knife, or spit, or any domestic utensil belonging to a Greek; nor will they eat even the flesh of such beasts as by their law are pure, if it has been cut with a Grecian knife." In setting on for Joseph "by himself," they but paid the respect due to his rank; for they doubtless considered him as one of their own people, which by naturalization he was: but not so with his brethren. The monuments show the customs in eating, and from these

it will be seen how matters, on this occasion, were probably arranged. A small table was appropriated, either to each guest singly, or to each couple of them.



Egyptians at meal.

The customs of Persia, at this day, illustrate this. The dishes are not brought in successively during the course of an

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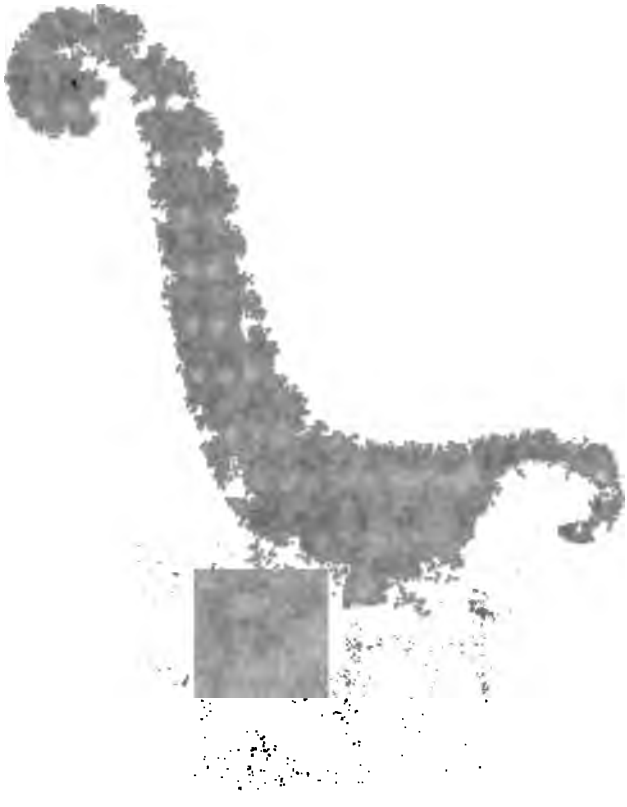


entertainment, but are placed at once upon the table, or rather floor. A tray containing a variety of dishes is placed between every two, or at most three guests, from which they help themselves, without attending in any degree, to the party at the next tray.

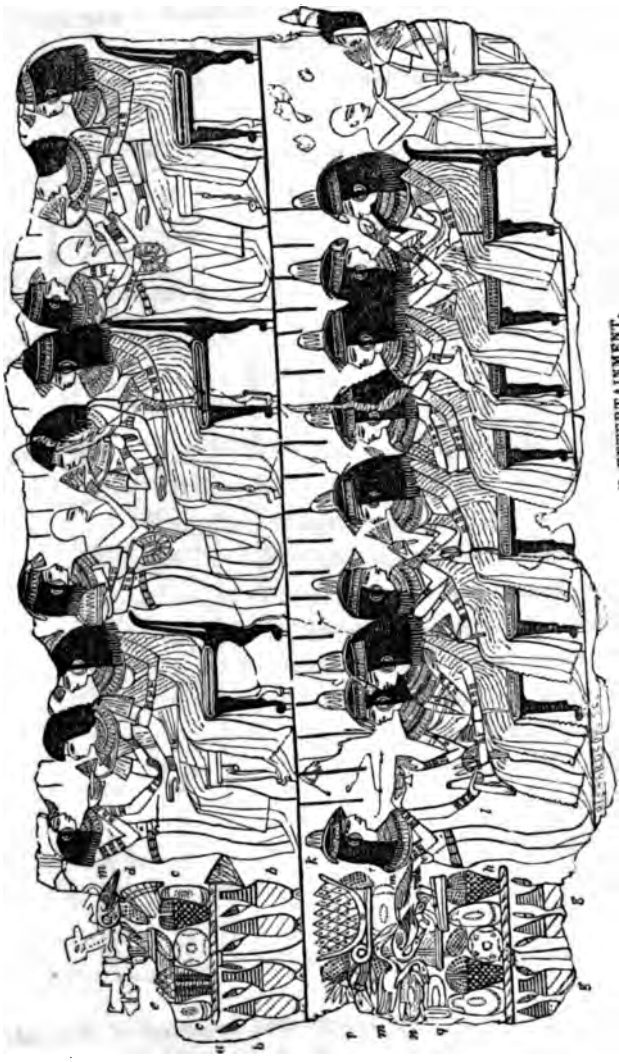
Another peculiarity here meets us. Joseph's brethren "*sat* before him." The usual custom of the ancients was to eat in a *reclining* position: but not so among the Egyptians. They had couches for sleeping; but *sat* at their meals. Sometimes they sat upon a stool or chair. We subjoin a cut from Wilkinson; and Rosellini furnishes a painting of similar character, in which the guests summoned to a feast are represented as occupying each a chair.

Indeed, among all the relics of domestic life yet found in Egypt, none are more striking or beautiful than their chairs. In variety of form and gracefulness of outline, they are not surpassed by any similar article of modern construction.

Benjamin's mess, we read, was "five times so much as any of theirs." The quantity of food placed before any guest, was the usual mode of expressing the approbation in which he was held by the host. Five or six different dishes or bowls for a guest, afford evidence of a liberal hospitality; but in Persia, now, when the guest is a person of consideration, other dishes are introduced, until at last there may be fifteen or more upon the same tray. Herodotus tells us that in the public banquets in Egypt, *twice* as much was placed before the king as before any one else. If a double quantity was a king's measure, Benjamin was here very greatly honored.

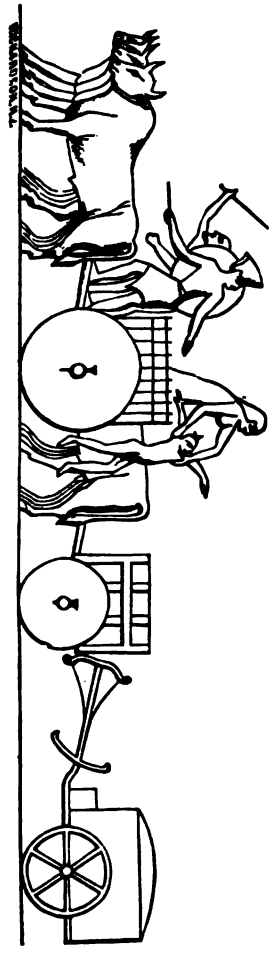
13. *Joseph sent for his father.*

Here "wagons" are introduced to our notice as vehicles



GUESTS AT AN EGYPTIAN ENTERTAINMENT.

for conveying his father and household. The original word, in the Hebrew, may fairly be rendered "wagons." With some small exception, it may be said, that wheel-carriages are not now employed in Western Asia, or Africa; but the ancient Egyptians used them, and they were also used in what is now Turkey in Asia. The war-chariot was very common in Egypt. But the monuments show also, a species of light-covered cart or wagon, which it is supposed were not of Egyptian origin, but taken from some nomade people who fled before them in war. With these, probably, Joseph was furnished. They seem not to have been used by the inhabitants of Palestine, and yet to have been known to them as a convenience resorted to in Egypt; for when Jacob saw those which Joseph sent, he knew, at once, that they must have come from Egypt; and they furnished to him confirmation of the story of his sons.



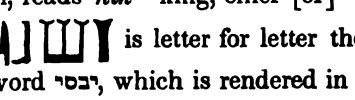
Carts from Egyptian sculptures.

14. *The arrival of the father and brethren of Joseph in Egypt, and their settlement in Goshen.*

In one of the tombs at Beni Hassan, there is a representa-

tion of an interesting nature, which by some has been, too hastily we think, considered as a sculptured story of the arrival of Jacob and his household, and their presentation to Pharaoh. We subjoin a copy of it in part, and remark that

though it may not afford any testimony to the particular event we are considering, yet it is evidence illustrative of our subject in general.

Here it will be seen that two persons, seemingly in office, and indicating, both by physiognomy and costume, that they are Egyptians, appear to be conducting those who follow them into the presence of Pharaoh, or one of his principal officers (who is not seen in the drawing). The hieroglyphical inscriptions show who they are. The first holding out the tablet, reads "the royal scribe, Nofropth;" the second is "the president of the treasury, Roti." The tablet held forth by the scribe is dated in the sixth year of the reign of the king to whom it is presented; and sets forth that certain individuals, either as such, or as the representatives of nations, had been taken captive. The number *thirty-seven* is written over them in hieroglyphics. It is necessary to observe particularly the appearance of these captives. The profile differs from that of the Egyptians; the nose and chin both project, and the former is aquiline. In the original the complexion was yellow, the hair and beard black; and the latter much more abundant than on an Egyptian face. The first figure in the line of captives, is a man clad in a rich tunic: he holds a gazelle, and is followed by an attendant leading another. He holds also in his hand, the horn of some animal, and is making a low obeisance to the king. His name and title are written in hieroglyphics before him: the upper group, according to Osborn, reads *hik*—king, chief [of] "the land." The group below  is letter for letter the transcription of the Hebrew word יבסי, which is rendered in the English Bible, *Jebusites*. The meaning seems, therefore, to be "chief of the

land of the Jebusites," which bordered on the deserts, and in which the gazelle abounded.

Immediately following the first two, are four men; the first carrying a bow, the last a spear, and the two between each with a club: their dress shows them to be of some rank, and they have sandals on their feet. Next comes an ass, bearing a package or pannier, tied with cords; within are two children, and on the top a shield. These children are probably hostages; as are also the boy and four women, who follow next. All of these are richly dressed, and wear boots reaching above the ankles to protect them from the burning sands of the desert. Another ass, loaded with spears and shields, is next; then a man, playing with the plectrum upon an instrument closely resembling the Grecian lyre. The case is slung at his back. The last figure carries a bow, quiver and war club, and is probably the bow-bearer of the first or some of the other personages. Such a figure is often represented in the reliefs on the temples.

The beards are remarkable, because though common in the East, the Egyptians did not wear them; and in the sculptures generally, they are used as one of the characteristic peculiarities of foreign and uncivilized nations.

In the inscription the word "captives" is used, and this has led to some difficulty in the interpretation of the scene. Wilkinson at first supposed, from the use of this word, that it was a representation of ordinary prisoners taken by the Egyptians in war: he afterward modified this opinion, and remarked that "the contemptuous expressions common to the Egyptians in speaking of foreigners, might account for the use of this word." They probably are not "captives" in the common sense of that term. Most of the captives that are

seen on the monuments, are represented as bound, with their limbs in the most painful positions. Beside, these have arms and are playing on musical instruments; two things, which, according to all the representations in Egypt, are incompatible with the fact of their being captives. Rosellini, on the ground of the *inscription* alone, supposed them to be captives. He, however, gives a copy from a representation of "some foreign slaves, sent by king Osirtasen II. as a present to a military chieftain."

Such may be the story told here; for the individual to whom these persons are presented, is not, according to Wilkinson, the king himself, but one of his officers. If we may venture to give our own interpretation, we should say that they are either the representatives of some distant and subjugated people, bringing their customary tribute as vassals; or they are "strangers," coming to ask an abode in Egpyt, and seeking to enforce their petition by gifts. Of this latter custom, we find evidence in the monuments. Although, therefore, we do not believe that the coming of Jacob and his sons is here storied, yet the sculpture is valuable for two purposes; first, as confirming the Scripture history as to the existence and condition of the Jebusites; and secondly, as proof that emigration with women and children, and formal admission of them into Egypt as inhabitants, took place in the earliest times of which we have any certain knowledge: and with this, the story of Jacob's coming agrees.

It will be remembered that Joseph informed his father and brethren, on their arrival, that, with a view to their settlement in Goshen, he would tell Pharaoh that they were "shepherds," and had brought with them "their flocks and their herds:" and he instructed them to say the same thing to Pharaoh,

adding,—"that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians." After this Joseph presented five of them to the king, of whom his father was one: "And Pharaoh said unto his brethren, What is your occupation? And they said unto Pharaoh, Thy servants are shepherds, both we and our fathers. They said, moreover, unto Pharaoh: For to sojourn in the land are we come; for thy servants have no pasture for their flocks; for the famine is sore in the land of Canaan: now, therefore, we pray thee, let thy servants dwell in the land of Goshen." Pharaoh granted their request.

Here we must fix our attention upon two facts distinctly stated. First, that "every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians;" and secondly, that these shepherds were settled in Goshen. As to the first, our readers will remember that in speaking of Abraham, we showed that though his was a pastoral calling, yet in his day, no objection was made to him on that account; and we endeavored to show that the cause of this was to be found in the fact that a race of invading shepherds, governed by "shepherd kings," then had sway in Lower Egypt, where Abraham was. But now, in the same locality, we find the state of feeling entirely changed; and we will add, in passing, that the *truth* of the statement we are now considering, is confirmed by hundreds of representations, to be gathered from the monuments. As if to show their utter contempt of them, the artists, both of Upper and Lower Egypt, delighted, on all occasions, in representing shepherds as dirty and unshaven; and caricatured them as a deformed and unseemly race. Sometimes, they were delineated, as were the captives taken in war, on the soles of their sandals; that they might express the fulness of

habitual contempt by treading them under their feet. So much for the fact of the "abomination."

In the absence of all other testimony but the simple fact of the different feeling toward shepherds, in the days of Abraham and in those of Joseph, we should, if required to account for it, naturally conclude that events had transpired, in the interval of time between these two personages, which in some way were connected with shepherds, and by some means had created an aversion toward them in the ruling powers. And here, actual history comes in and confirms this conclusion. It is not our purpose to weary the reader with the uninteresting details of our chronological research: we must, therefore, for the present, content ourselves with the statement, that the result of it has been the satisfactory establishment, to our own minds at least, of the fact, that the "shepherd kings," of whom we spoke in the chapter on Abraham, and who ruled in his day, were expelled from their last stronghold in Egypt, and the native sovereigns had again obtained sway, *just before Joseph was brought down and sold as a slave in Egypt.* That these shepherd kings and their followers (Manetho's fable to the contrary notwithstanding) never were invited back by the pretended leprous followers of Moses, and never did come back; that the Egyptians, on the re-establishment of a native dynasty, under a sense of national humiliation to which they had been subjected by a foreign yoke, not only cordially hated all shepherds, but looked on all pastoral people with distrust and suspicion; that Joseph himself, had he come down avowedly as a shepherd, would have fared accordingly; but he was brought as a slave, sold as a slave, with little of interest, and less of inquiry, as to his origin; that rising by degrees, by a providential combination of circumstances, in

the fulfilment of God's purposes, he had become a naturalized Egyptian, of strong family alliance and of great power; and that *he* did not suffer from this aversion to shepherds; because no man in Egypt ever could have known him as a shepherd boy; and none probably knew of his alliance with a shepherd race, until the strange news was rumored in the palace, "Joseph's brethren have come." The aversion to shepherds, therefore, mentioned in the sacred writings, is to our minds one of the strong proofs of the truth of the story; for history, we think, furnishes a full and satisfactory explanation of that aversion, in the existence of adequate causes for it; which causes perfectly synchronize with the true date of events, recorded in our Scriptural narrative.

Of this national aversion to shepherds, Joseph took a wise advantage, in the settlement of his father and brethren:—"Say (thus he directed them), thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our youth, even until now, both we, and also our fathers: *that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen.*"

Now where, and in what condition was this land of Goshen? The Pentateuch is not a formal treatise on geography; it is, therefore, not surprising that it does not give us a minute and direct account of the situation of this land. But it is very gratifying to remark that it *incidentally* furnishes so many particulars concerning it as fully enable us to identify its locality; and that facts so fully substantiate what, at first view, would seem to be discrepancies in these particulars, that the very references to Goshen conclusively show that the author of the Pentateuch (no matter now who he may have been) possessed a most accurate knowledge of the topography of the country about which he was writing. He was not dependent on uncertain reports for his information. He

had seen, and knew for himself; and on no other principle can we explain the fact that all his allusions to the position and nature of the land are sustained by its actual geography, without the slightest reference to any imaginary region. A study of the whole subject, will (as Hengstenberg has remarked) impress conviction on the impartial mind that the writer of the Pentateuch "wrote from personal observation, with the freedom and confidence of one to whom the information communicated comes naturally and of its own accord; and from one who has not obtained it for a proposed object." Let us first look at the supposed discrepancies.

It would appear, on the one hand, that it was the *eastern border-land of Egpyt.*" "And he [Jacob] sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to direct his face unto Goshen." GEN. xlvi. 28. Now, Jacob came from the East.

Jacob did not receive any instructions or orders from Joseph, until he had reached Goshen: this shows it to have been the border of the country on the eastern side.

Joseph tells Pharaoh, that his father and brethren were in Goshen. There they were obliged, in conformity with Egyptian custom, to abide until they had permission to enter Egypt. This shows it to have been on the eastern *border.*

Tell Pharaoh, says Joseph to his relations, that your business through your lives has been about cattle; and he gives them this reason for it:—"that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians." Unless Goshen were a frontier province, what force would there have been in this reason? If it were, then the Israelites would not be brought into close contact with the great mass of Egypt's inhabitants, to whom they were an "abomination."

When Moses led the children of Israel out, they went east-

ward. They departed from the chief town of this very land. *In two days*, they had reached the confines of the Arabian desert. This shows that Goshen must have been the eastern boundary.

But again, on the other hand, there are incidental passages about Goshen, which represent it as lying immediately around the chief city of Egypt; for Joseph, who must then have lived in the principal city, says: "And thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near to me." Gen. xlv. 10.

What was the chief city of Egypt in that day? The Pentateuch nowhere expressly tells us. But perhaps it furnishes data, by which to determine it. The whole Pentateuch shows in a general manner, that the abode of royalty then, was somewhere in Lower Egypt. Tanis, the Zoan of Scripture, we have already seen was one of the oldest cities of Egypt; for it was there in Abraham's day, and was then of some note and considered as a sort of standard with which to compare other cities: "And Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." Numb. xiii. 22. The monuments there, show that Tanis existed in the times of Rameses the Great. When Moses performed his miracles before the Pharaoh, who refused to let the Israelites go, where was the residence of that Pharaoh? At his chief city. Where were the miracles wrought? Let the Bible answer: "Marvellous things did he in the sight of their fathers, in the land of Egypt, in the field of Zoan." Psalm lxxviii. 12. "How he had wrought his signs in Egypt, and his wonders in the field of Zoan. And had turned their rivers into blood," &c. Psalm lxxviii. 43, *et seq.*

On the supposition that Tanis or Zoan was the chief city; we ask, Was it in or near Goshen? The question will be

answered by a reply to the inquiry whether Moses and his parents were Israelites; for if they were, they lived in Goshen. Now, where was Moses found? On the banks of the Nile, where the king's daughter was accustomed to walk and to bathe. And his parents lived near, for his sister watched to see what would become of him, and ran, not far, to bring his mother as a nurse. It only remains to ask, where must have been the home of Pharaoh's daughter? And the obvious answer is, in the palace of her father, in the chief city of his kingdom. And thus, by a proper arrangement of facts gathered from Scripture, it is plain that Goshen might have included or was not far from Tanis; and that Joseph's father and brethren might have lived in Goshen, and yet not been very distant from him in Tanis. There is not here, then, necessarily, any discrepancy.

But if it should be thought that Tanis or Zoan was not the chief city, and On or Heliopolis should be considered the residence of Joseph, still would his relations, living in Goshen, have been near to him; for this land lay along the Pelusiac or most eastern branch of the Nile; as it is evident that the Israelites, on being led out by Moses, *nowhere crossed the Nile;* and thus Goshen would have included a part of the nome of Heliopolis, of which On was the capital.

But again: the land of Goshen is described in Scripture as a *pasture* ground. It was for the sake of its good pasture that Jacob and his sons asked to be placed there.

It is also, on the other hand, spoken of as a region of *arable* land. "And he [Joseph] gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses." Gen. xlvii. 2. And we know that the Israelites

while in Egypt did cultivate the land, and obtained an abundance of its agricultural products.

Is there here a real discrepancy? Goshen, according to Hales, in which he is sustained by the best authorities, "stretched along the Bubastic or Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and formed the eastern barrier of Egypt, toward Palestine and Arabia, the quarters from which they most dreaded invasion." It therefore comprised a tract of country very various in its nature; part of it arable, and part pasture lands. There is even at this day, in the interior of ancient Goshen, a large tract of land good for tillage, and fruitful. A valley stretches through the whole breadth of it; and, according to Le Père, this whole tract, from the ancient Bubastis on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, to the entrance of the Wady Tumilat, is now under full cultivation, and annually overflowed by the river. It had also good pasture lands, so that it combined the peculiarities of both Arabia and Egypt.

Michaelis intimates that it was not probable the king of Egypt would give to these shepherds "the best of the land." But, adverting to the circumstances of the case, there would seem to be nothing very surprising in his so doing. This very Goshen was the last stronghold of the shepherd kings who, but a few years before Joseph came, had been driven out; and during the greater part of their abode in Egypt, it was their chief settlement. It was not long, since they had been driven out. The Egyptians needed it but little for pastoral purposes, and it was consequently but sparsely peopled. In permitting the Hebrews to occupy it, therefore, not only was no one dispossessed, but the new comers were fixed in the only unoccupied part of Egypt adapted to their calling; were kept in a very great degree apart from the Egyptians; and above

all, formed, on the defenceless side of Egypt, the barrier of a brave and numerous people, occupying as it were the gateway to the kingdom, through which the invading hordes of the desert, and of the East generally, always passed on their warlike and predatory incursions. Whatever it might have been to the Hebrews, in their peculiar avocation, to Pharaoh it was not "the best of the land;" and even had it been, its surrender was fully compensated by the additional security which the rest of the kingdom obtained from its occupancy by the Hebrews. The story of the Bible is altogether probable, and certainly in harmony with known facts in Egypt.

15. *Jacob dies, and is embalmed by Joseph's physicians at his command.*

The language implies that Joseph had among his servants, many who were physicians. This is in entire conformity with what we know of Egyptian customs. From Herodotus we learn that the faculty in Egypt was very numerous; and that no doctor was allowed to practise in more than one branch of the profession. Some were oculists; others attended to diseases of the head only; others, solely to intestinal maladies, &c. Nor was the profession deficient in skill, or in a reputation which reached beyond Egypt. As to skill, they took the best mode to obtain it; for Pliny tells us that they made *post mortem* examinations; and this, by the way, we think, is the first historical evidence we have of such a practice. They studied also the nature and properties of drugs; for Homer, in his Odyssey, describes Egypt as a country producing many drugs, some salutary, others pernicious; and tells us that every physician there possessed knowledge above other men.

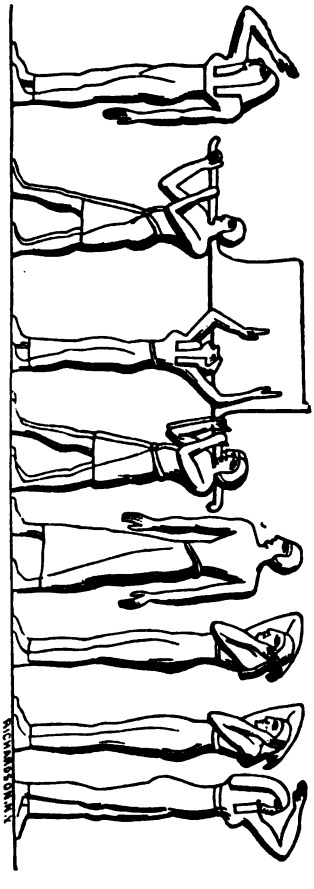
As to their reputation abroad, we learn from the third book of Herodotus (Thalia) that Cyrus had a physician sent to him from Egypt, and that Darius also had Egyptian physicians about him. Indeed, to those curious in such investigations, Egypt affords a chapter of no small interest in the history of the progress of medical science.

The physicians, or a portion of them, were the embalmers; these embalmers were a hereditary class in Egypt, according to the later classical writers. Both statements are true. The first relates to the most ancient, and the latter to modern times. The monuments show that embalming was a very ancient usage of Egypt. Mummies, also, have been found bearing the date of the *oldest* kings. It is probable the custom originated in Egypt, and was founded on their religious belief that the continuance of the soul in the region of happiness was dependent on the preservation of the body. Some have thought that a physical notion may have also had its influence. Egypt is annually, for three months, under water, and is at the same time exposed to a burning sun. It is therefore important that all decomposition of animal matter should, as much as possible, be prevented. Hence inferior animals were embalmed. The practice, it is said, was put an end to by the preaching of St. Anthony and other Eremitic fathers who, in their zeal, denounced it as idolatrous. With this, some significantly connect the fact, that, since the conversion of Egypt to Christianity, the plague, which was utterly unknown in ancient times, now commonly makes its annual appearance on the subsidence of the Nile: and that its first introduction may be historically traced to a period somewhere about the time of the successful effort of St. Anthony and his confreres against embalming. In such a discussion,

"Non nobis, tantas componere lites."*

"And forty days were fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed: and the Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days." Gen. l. 3.

The author here mentions two numbers, forty and seventy: the latter, doubtless, including the former as a part of it The meaning, in the judgment of the best writers, is that the whole period of the mourning embraced seventy days, of which the process of embalming occupied forty; and with this, the statements both of Herodotus and Diodorus may be reconciled.



Part of an Egyptian funeral procession, with acts of mourning.

Mourning for the dead, among the Egyptians, and especially when the deceased was of high rank, was a very solemn ceremony. Herodotus says, "with respect to their funerals and ceremonies of mourning; whenever a man of any importance dies, the females of his family, disfiguring their heads and faces with dirt, leave the corpse in the house, run publicly about, accompanied by their female

* On this subject of embalming, see Wilkinson, Vol. V. chap. xvi.

relations, with their garments in disorder; their breasts exposed, and beating themselves severely: the men, on their parts, do the same." Diodorus says: "If any one dies among them, all his relatives and friends cover their heads with mud, and go about the streets with loud lamentations, until the body is buried. In the meantime, they neither use baths, nor even take wine, or any other than common food; they also do not put on beautiful garments." On the previous page, may be seen the representation of a solemn act of mourning, copied from the monuments.

We must not here omit a seemingly slight circumstance, but really important, as indicating a very familiar acquaintance on the part of the author of the Pentateuch with Egyptian usages. He has written, "And when the days of his [Israel's] mourning were past, Joseph spake unto the house of Pharaoh, saying, If now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, in the ears of Pharaoh, saying," &c. Gen. l. 4. It will hardly be suspected that in writing these words, the author supposed he was furnishing incidental testimony to his own truth, when it should be called in question at a future day; and yet it is such testimony. Why did not Joseph go *in person* to Pharaoh to speak for himself, as we have seen he did on the occasion of his father's and brothers' arrival in Egypt? Herodotus, speaking of the customs of Egypt, tells us that "it is elsewhere customary, in case of death, for those who are most nearly affected to cut off their hair in testimony of sorrow; but the Egyptians, who, at other times, have their heads closely shorn, suffer the hair on this occasion to grow on both head and chin." Joseph was now mourning, consequently his hair and beard were both apparent, and in that condition, he knew that Egyptian etiquette and propriety did not allow of

his appearance before the sovereign. He could not now *shave*, as he did when summoned from the prison.

16. *Joseph died, and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt.*

The particular mention of *a coffin* seems here to imply a distinction. Coffins have never been much used in the East, though royal personages have sometimes been put in stone sarcophagi. Coffins, however, were more common in Egypt than elsewhere; but still the common people were, for the most part, obliged to dispense with them, and were merely swathed in wrappers with bandages. The original word used here (*aron*) denotes that the coffin was of wood; and we know that sometimes persons of wealth and distinction had two, three, or even four: one within the other. Herodotus particularly describes the Egyptian coffin; and those found, we believe, have generally been of sycamore.

It has been objected, that the writer of the sacred history proves himself to have been ignorant of Egyptian usages, because he makes the body of Joseph to be deposited in a *coffin;* and it is said that one of his rank would have occupied a sarcophagus of stone. The very fact of his being put in a *coffin of wood* confirms the story; for such were in general use, while those of stone were appropriated to royal personages. Beside, it must not be forgotten that the body of Joseph was to be transported from Egypt, and this circumstance alone would have indicated the propriety of placing his remains in a coffin of wood.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BONDAGE.

AFTER the death of Joseph, sixty-five years elapsed before the birth of Moses, according to the chronology of Dr. Hales. The author of the Pentateuch distinctly informs us that during this interval all the sons of Jacob, and the men of their generation, had died; and toward the latter part of the interval above named, the fact meets us that "*there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph.*" This is a particular of Egyptian history, in the explanation of which confusion has arisen, from the fabrication of the pretended Manetho about the leprous Israelites under Moses, and their recall of the shepherd kings, to which we have already adverted. Some have thought that the monarch of this new dynasty was the first sovereign furnished on the re-intrusion of the pastoral invaders. In opposition to this opinion, we are met by the fact that these shepherds are represented by Manetho (the only authority for the return of the shepherds at all,) as coming back on the invitation of the Israelites; the shepherds, therefore, were not likely to become their oppressors. But further, according to Manetho, the Israelites were *not* oppressed during this supposed second period of pastoral sway, but, in conjunction with the shepherds, were themselves the oppressors. The document of Manetho on this subject, therefore, can only be made intelligible by inter-

preting it to mean exactly the contrary of what it says; and of course is not entitled to the least respect as historical authority. We therefore reject as spurious the whole paragraph from Manetho giving the story of the return of the shepherds on the invitation of "the lepers."

As far as our investigations have enabled us to discover, the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt began to reign about sixty years after Joseph's death, and the first king was *Thothmes*, *Tethmosis* or *Amosis*, or *Ames* or *Amos*, for in all these various modes has it been written. The chronological coincidence would, therefore, suggest that he was the king who "knew not Joseph." By this expression we understand, not that he was ignorant of the past history of Joseph, but that he was not so deeply impressed as the last dynasty had been with a sense of the services Joseph had rendered to the state; and therefore not equally disposed to acknowledge the claims of the Israelites upon the Egyptian government. But why was this? Because he was from the distant province of Thebes, knew nothing personally of the Hebrews, and, with the usual haughty arrogance of Egyptian monarchs, probably viewed them with the contempt and suspicion that attached to foreigners, and, as we have seen, especially to shepherds. Sir Gardner Wilkinson has made a suggestion on this subject, well worthy of consideration. He thinks that the Jews, who had come in under the pressure of a famine, had asked and obtained a grant from the Egyptian authorities, on condition of the performance of certain services by them and their descendants. This is rather corroborated by the fact that some of them were agriculturists, while others were shepherds; for we read that, beside their labor "in mortar and brick," they were also employed "in all manner of service in

the field," Ex. i. 14:—and in Deuteronomy, the phrase occurs, "Egypt —— where thou sowedst thy seed and wateredst it."

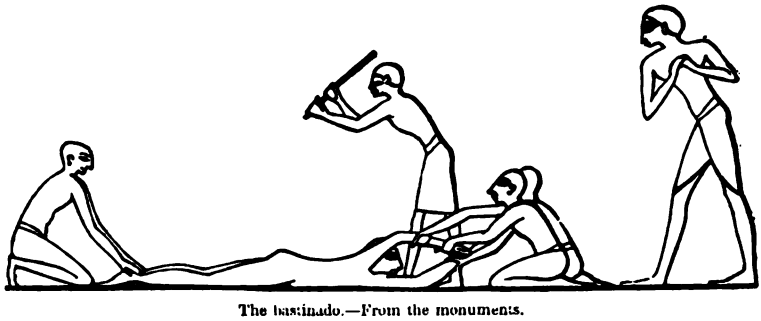
While the Memphitic dynasty lasted, Wilkinson thinks this grant was respected, and nothing more was required of the Hebrews than a compliance with the terms on which it was made. But when the Theban family came to the throne, the grant was rescinded, and the services notwithstanding required; and thus commenced the bondage, when despotism and prejudice soon found a pretext for imposing additional burdens. It was pretended that the Hebrews, who certainly had rapidly increased in numbers, had thereby become dangerous to Egypt; particularly as they lived on the side next to the Nomade tribes, with whom they might make alliances; and, more especially, as they were not very far distant from the descendants of the old invaders, the shepherds, who had withdrawn to Palestine only, and there constituted the valiant and powerful race of the Philistines.

Whether this pretext were well or ill founded, it furnished the Egyptian monarch with sufficient grounds for treating the Israelites like captives taken in war, and compelling them gratuitously to erect "treasure cities" for him, which they did. All we can say of this conjecture, in the absence of positive proof, is that it does not violate probability, and is perfectly consistent with the details of the Bible story.

The next point that we have to consider, consists of the details of Jewish oppression, at the hands of Egypt:—"They did set over them taskmasters, to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses."—"And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve, with rigor: and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage in mortar and in brick, and in all manner

of service in the field: all their service, wherein they made them serve was with rigor."

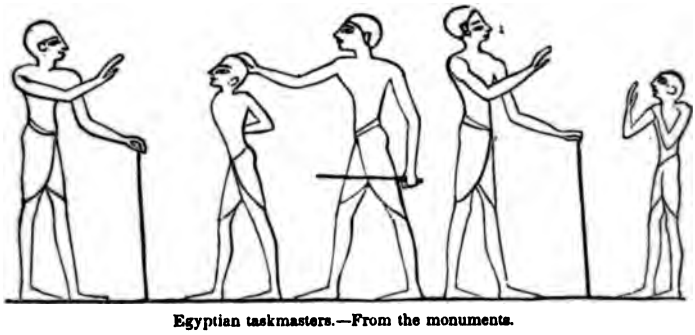
1. *They set over them taskmasters.* This is perfectly Egyptian; and exists at this day, with the single difference that the Egyptians occupy the place of the oppressed, instead of the oppressors. The bitter cup is returned to their own lips. A modern writer states that, "when the labor of the people is required for any public work, the officers of Mehemet Ali collect the whole neighborhood—men, women, and children; and dividing them into so many companies or droves, *appoint taskmasters over them.* These are armed with whips which they use pretty freely, as they are responsible for the completion of the work." The monuments show that this was precisely the custom of ancient Egypt. Below are representations in illustration. In the first, the culprit is subjected to the bastinado; a punishment by no means uncommon now in Egypt, which is governed very much by the cudgel or stick.



The bastinado.—From the monuments.

The following affords another example, where the taskmasters all appear with sticks; and while one offender has

hands already laid upon him, another is in the posture of deprecatory supplication.



Egyptian taskmasters.—From the monuments.

They were employed in building cities. Josephus tells us, that his nation was also engaged in building pyramids, and making canals and embankments. It seems questionable, however, whether the Israelites took any part in the work of building the pyramids of Memphis, or the Arsinoite nome. The better opinion is, that they did not. But captives were, in general, the builders of public works. Thus Diodorus tells us, that Sesostris placed on all his buildings erected by captives, an inscription, stating that no native citizen had been engaged in the servile work.

11. *Pithom and Raamses were the cities they built.* They were fortified towns, in which provisions were stored up. The first named, is the Patumos of Herodotus; which, as we learn from him, was on the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, not far from the entrance of the canal which, in his day, connected the Nile with the Red Sea. The initial P, is but the Egyptian article; and in the rest of the name, we recognize the *Thum*, which the Itinerary of Antoninus places at twelve

Roman miles from Heroöpolis. Guided by these indications, the French savans place Pithom on the site of the present village of Abbaseh. This is in ancient Goshen. The same scholars have also satisfactorily shown, that Raamses was the same place which the Greeks called Heröopolis; and was between the Pelusiac arm of the Nile and the Bitter Lakes, at a place now called Abu Keisheid. This also is within ancient Goshen. With the opinions of the French scholars, we may add that Hengstenberg, who has bestowed great labor and learning on this subject, entirely concurs.

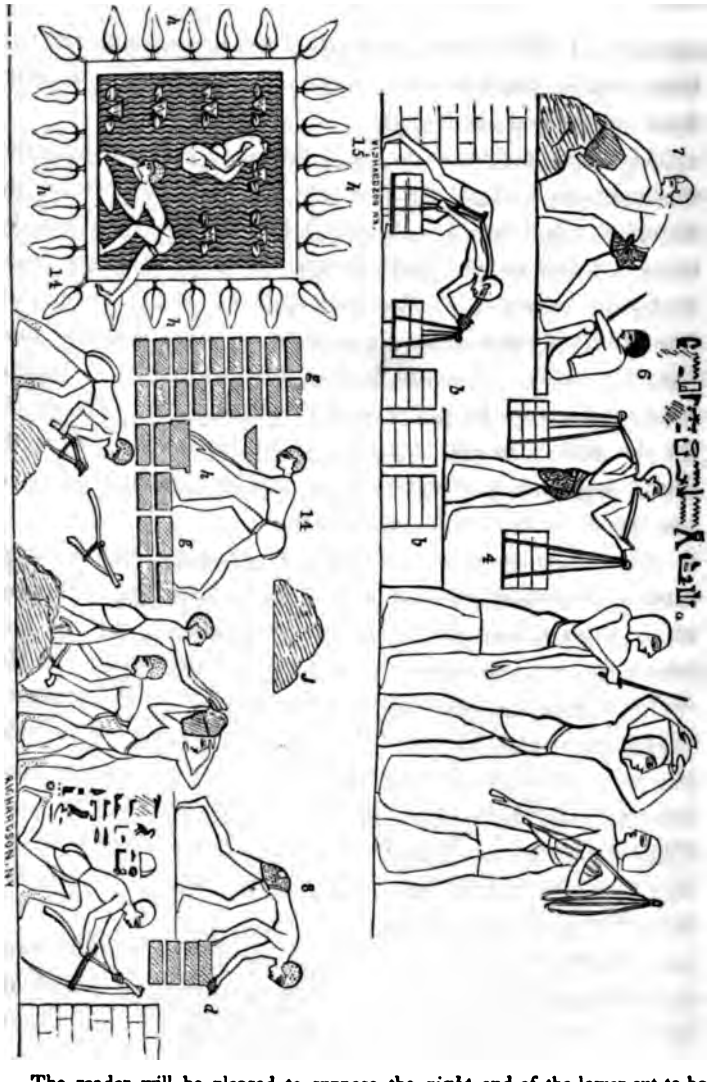
III. *They were subjected to hard bondage in mortar and brick.* Bricks in Egypt are of great antiquity, and, as we learn from the Scripture story, were usually made with straw, intermixed with clay. Thus writes Wilkinson:—"The use of crude brick baked in the sun, was universal in Upper and Lower Egypt, both for public and private buildings; and the brick field gave abundant occupation to numerous laborers throughout the country. These simple materials were found to be peculiarly suited to the climate; and the ease, rapidity, and cheapness with which they were made offered additional recommendations..... So great was the demand that the Egyptian government, observing the profit which would accrue to the revenue from a monopoly of them, undertook to supply the public at a moderate price, thus preventing all unauthorized persons from engaging in their manufacture. And in order more effectually to obtain their end, the seal of the king, or of some privileged person, was stamped upon the bricks at the time they were made." Bricks have been found thus marked, both in public and private buildings. The monopoly must have been profitable to the kings, inasmuch as they availed themselves of the cheap, because unpaid, labor of the

captives. It would seem, however, from the monuments, that some native laborers were employed, though the majority there represented are foreigners.

As to the use of *straw*, it is proved, by an examination of the bricks brought by Rosellini from Thebes, bearing the stamp of Thothmes IV., the fifth king of the eighteenth dynasty. "The bricks" (says Rosellini) "which are now found in Egypt belonging to the same period, always have straw mingled with them, although in some of those that are most carefully made, it is found in very small quantities." Another writer, quoted by Hengstenberg, Prokesch, says, "The bricks (of the first pyramid at Dashoor) are of fine clay from the Nile, mingled with chopped straw. This intermixture gives the bricks an astonishing durability."

In connection with this subject of brick-making in Egypt, a most interesting painting was found by Rosellini, at Thebes, in the tomb of Roscherê. He did not hesitate to call his comments on it, "explanation of a picture representing the Hebrews as they were engaged in making brick." We present a copy of it, from Wilkinson's drawing, and cannot but consider it one of the most interesting of the pictorial representations yet found in Egypt, even should it be supposed not to represent the Hebrews. Wilkinson's copy is too small to bring out all the details as Rosellini's representation does: we will first give Rosellini's description.

"Of the laborers," (says he,) "some are employed in transporting the clay in vessels; some in intermingling it with the straw; others are taking the bricks out of the form and placing them in rows; still others, with a piece of wood upon their backs and ropes on each side, carry away the bricks already burned or dried. Their dissimilarity to the Egyptians appears



Brick-making in Egypt.

The reader will be pleased to suppose the *right* end of the lower cut to be joined to the *left* end of the upper, and he will then have a view of the picture as it is in the original.

at the first view; the complexion, physiognomy, and beard, permit us not to be mistaken in supposing them to be Hebrews. They wear at their hips the apron which is common among the Egyptians; and there is also represented, as in use among them, a kind of short trousers or drawers. . . . . Among the Hebrews, four Egyptians, very distinguishable by their mien, figure, and color, (which is of the usual reddish brown, while the others are of what we call 'flesh color,') are seen. Two of them, one sitting, the other standing, carry sticks in their hands, ready to fall upon two other Egyptians, who are here represented like the Hebrews, one of them carrying upon his shoulders a vessel of clay, and the other returning from the transportation of brick, carrying his empty vessel to get a new load."

The diminished size of our representation is necessarily such, that we must request the reader to turn to our cut, while we attempt to supply, by explanation, its deficiencies on a comparison with the much larger picture of Rosellini.

The three figures on the right of the upper part of the cut are all represented by Rosellini with such *wigs* as are usually painted on Egyptians. One of these bears a stick; and the other two are Egyptian taskmasters, who, by their failure to exact the required amount of work from the Israelites, are compelled to perform servile work themselves, as a punishment. One of them bears a load, and the other (the right-hand figure, with the yoke) proves that they had not come forth for labor of this kind; for it will be observed that he has not yet girt his loins, like all the other laborers seen in the picture, and according to invariable Eastern usage, but wears his dress loose, like the overseer with his stick raised, and the taskmaster who is sitting (No. 6).

The hieroglyphical inscription at the top of the cut reads, "Captives brought by his majesty, to build the temple of the great god." On the left of the lower cut, is the tank or cistern from which water was obtained, and in which one laborer is seen standing, while another is dipping his vessel into the cistern. *Most* of the laboring figures are represented by Rosellini with *hair* and *beards;* their *complexion* also, in the original, is painted of a different color from that of the Egyptians: there is no doubt they are meant for foreigners of some kind; and, to our eyes, the physiognomy is unmistakably Jewish. They are marked also with splashes of clay, and their whole appearance indicates the most servile degradation. *Three* of the laboring figures, however, seem to be Egyptians, and of equal degradation with their companions.

It is not surprising that this remarkable picture should have attracted much attention among the students of Egyptian antiquity. Heeren remarks of it, "If this painting represents the servitude of the children of Israel in these labors, it is equally important for exegesis and chronology. For exegesis, because it would be a strong proof of the antiquity of the Mosaic writings, and especially of the book of Exodus, which, in the first and fifth chapters, gives a description which applies most accurately to this painting, even in unimportant particulars. For chronology, since it belongs to the eighteenth dynasty, under the dominion of Thothmes Mœris, about 1740 B. C., and therefore would give a fixed point both for profane and sacred history."

Indeed, the striking character of this painting seems to have caused an intimation, if not a positive expression, of doubt as to its genuineness. The question has been asked, "Is it not probably a supposititious work, prepared after the Pentateuch was written?' Rosellini first gave it to the world; afterward,

Sir Gardner Wilkinson made a new examination of it on the spot, and his acknowledged sound judgment deliberately decided in its favor, as being a genuine production of the eighteenth dynasty. His judgment, it will be seen, is entitled to the more weight when we add, that he is not prepared to say the picture refers to the work of the Israelites in their bondage; but rather questions it; remarking, however, "it is curious to discover other foreign captives, occupied in the same manner, overlooked by similar 'taskmasters,' and performing the very same labors as the Israelites described in the Bible; and no one can look at the paintings of Thebes representing brick-makers, without a feeling of the highest interest." We will now state the grounds on which the application of the picture, to the story of the Hebrews, has been questioned.

First. How came this picture *at Thebes*, in the tomb of Roscherê? Rosellini answers thus: Roscherê was a high court officer of the king; that the tomb was his, is plainly proved, indeed it is not questioned, and it was built in the time of Thothmes IV., the fifth king of the eighteenth dynasty. Roscherê was the overseer of the public buildings; and had, consequently, charge of all the works undertaken by the king. In the tomb are found other objects of a like nature, two colossal statues, a sphinx, and the *laborers* who hewed the stone-works, which he, by virtue of his office, had caused to be made in his lifetime. All this, it is believed, is conceded as being true.

Secondly. How came the Israelites to be represented as laboring *at Thebes?* This, as it seems to us, is Sir Gardner Wilkinson's greatest objection. The scene of the labor represented is in his view undeniably at Thebes, for the lower hieroglyphics state that the bricks are made for a "build-

ing at Thebes." It is with great diffidence we venture to entertain an opinion on this subject, different from Wilkinson's. Yet here, we must confess that the objection does not seem conclusive. It is true that the Israelites, during their bondage, occupied their ancient home (so far as the men were allowed to enjoy a home) in Goshen, which was far distant from Thebes: but we know of nothing either in Scripture or elsewhere, which *confined their labors to Goshen.* On the contrary, when they were ordered in this very business of brick-making, to find straw for themselves, we are constrained to believe that they were at work for the royal monopolist and brick merchant, in almost *all parts of Egypt;* for in Exodus v. 12, we read, "so the people were scattered abroad *throughout all the land of Egypt* to gather stubble instead of straw." This certainly does not convey the idea that they were making bricks *in Goshen only.*

Beside, according to Rosellini, the inscription does not so plainly declare that these bricks in the picture were made for a "building at Thebes;" and if they were, as Egypt formed then but *one* kingdom, and as there is reason from other testimony to believe that the usage in working the Israelites was to send them out in gangs, or classes, under overseers for a considerable time, making these classes successively relieve each other, we cannot see any objection to the opinion that they may have been sent as far as Thebes for the sake of their work: certain it is that no considerations of humanity, or of the convenience of these poor bondmen, would have prevented it. Beside, it is not unlikely that they were sent out of Goshen for *agricultural* purposes, inasmuch as we read they were employed "in all manner of service in the field;" and their numbers had so much increased at this

time, that the tillage of Goshen alone could not possibly have required the labor of *all:* why then might they not have been sent out of Goshen to make bricks also? The other inscription, too, it must not be forgotten, expressly describes them as "captives *brought* by his majesty to build," &c. It certainly was for the interest of their Egyptian oppressors, who alleged their *number* as a reasonable ground of apprehension to scatter them in small bodies over all Egypt, as much as possible. At this day, that degraded caste, the Fellahs, are gathered in troops from the remotest provinces of Egypt to execute any great public work.

Thirdly. It is objected, that all these laborers have not *beards.* Certainly, however, beard is to be found on some, and we think its absence on others is easily explained, on the ground that they were probably a degraded class of Egyptians. How they came to be mingled with Israelites in servile work we think we can show beyond question, when we come to speak of that "great rabble," who accompanied the Hebrews at the exode.

Another objection remains to be considered. There are those who, while they readily admit that the picture represents *Jews* servilely employed in making brick, yet doubt whether the painting was designed to delineate the particular act of servitude specified in the Scriptural history of the bondage. The ground of their doubt is this; that from the general absence on the monuments of every thing that could reflect on the Egyptian national character, there is reason to believe that mortified pride, after the triumphant exode of the Israelites, caused the Egyptians studiously to obliterate every sculpture which could recall the fact that such a race as Israel ever was oppressed in Egypt, and sig-

nally redeemed from that oppression by their God. Consequently it is thought this history of a part of that oppression would not have been permitted to remain.

To this objection there are, as it seems to us, two satisfactory answers. Conceding that monuments which could recall the mortifying history of the virtual triumph of Israel in the exode were destroyed, the destruction was of *public* monuments. No sculptured story or painting of the acts of any Egyptian *king* would be left to perpetuate the record of shame. The mutilations that have been found thus far are on public national memorials. The cartouch of a monarch, for instance, is obliterated, when the remembrance of him would reflect no credit on Egypt: but *private tombs* were not mutilated in this mode. Roscherê's tomb was no public memorial; its representation of Jews making brick was doubtless founded on fact, but was introduced incidentally merely to testify to his own importance as overseer of public works. Strictly *private*, it was not disturbed.

But another and conclusive answer to our minds is this. It is conceded that these are Jews working, that they are greatly degraded, and are making brick. Now the representation must have been founded on facts. We ask, then, *at what period except during the oppressive tyranny of the bondage*, does our historical knowledge of the connection between the Jews and Egyptians afford the slightest intimation or probability that they were likely to be thus degraded and employed? Certainly not *before* the king "who knew not Joseph;" for the Jews then were in favor with the ruling powers:—certainly not *afterward*, until the lapse of a period long posterior to this, when Shishak conquered Rehoboam. There was then, if these be representations of Jews at

all, no period but that of the *bondage* to which the picture could apply. On the whole, the result of the best examination we have been able to bestow on the subject, tends to produce a belief that Rosellini is correct in his application of the picture to the Jews in bondage; and if we err, we are happy in being able to say that we do it in company with such men as Rosellini, Hengstenberg, Osborn, and Kitto.

Moses was committed to an "ark of bulrushes, daubed with slime and pitch."

Nothing is easier than to object, on the part of those who conclude that the habits and customs of all times, and of all people, must of necessity have been precisely similar to those with which only they are familiar. They have never seen a boat of bulrushes, and *therefore* there never was one. Just such a boat as is here described is to this day built and used in Abyssinia; and the locality is worthy of note, because Isaiah (xviii. 2) refers to Ethiopia as sending "vessels of bulrushes upon the waters." Such objectors would probably deny the former existence of the wicker coracles of the ancient Britons.

The original word, translated bulrushes, is *gome*. It is found in three other places in Scripture. From Job viii. 11, and Isaiah xxxv. 7, compared with Isaiah xviii. 2, we gather that it was a plant growing in moist situations, and used for the construction of boats. From Theophrastus, we learn that the plant used for this purpose on the Nile was the *Cyperus Papyrus*, though Wilkinson thinks it was the *Cyperus Dives;* the learned have, therefore, long concurred in the opinion that the cyperus, in some form, was the plant *gome*. It is not, strictly speaking, a *rush*, as our translation would

imply, but one of the family of *sedges*. The root is about the thickness of a full-sized man's wrist, and more than fifteen feet long, and so hard that all kinds of utensils were made of it. The stem is about six feet long, surmounted by a cluster of little spikes, which are weak, and hang down like a plume, and are applied to no useful purpose. The stem, however, was eaten raw, roasted or boiled, and furnished materials for boats, sails, mats, clothes, beds, and books. Paper was made of it before the time of Alexander the Great, as some of the papyri found at Thebes and elsewhere show.

Herodotus and Pliny, both inform us that boats were made of it. In Egypt, and in Egypt only, was this plant applied to the many useful purposes we have enumerated; and as far as we can learn, it was not used for vessels out of Egypt, except, and that possibly at a later day, in Ethiopia. With Ethiopia, the history of the Israelites had no connection. It is, therefore, evidence of the author's acquaintance with Egypt at a very early period, that he constructs this boat for Moses, of the papyrus.

The *slime* here mentioned, may have been asphaltum or mineral pitch; for from various sources, we know the ancient Egyptians had bitumen; but as this slime was mingled with *pitch* (vegetable rosins), we suppose it may have been simply the mud or slime of the Nile which, to this day, possesses peculiarly adhesive properties. A modern writer tells us, that this slime is wonderfully tenacious; and when dry, adheres like pitch: hence, with a little straw or stubble, it needed but to be sun-dried to make bricks, which even yet remain. The natives now, when they are to descend the stream with a heavy cargo, build a wall of this mud on the gunwales or sides of their boats; and permitting it to dry, are not afraid

to load the vessel until the water rises above the wood-work of the boat. The slime will bear the washing of the stream, when the boat is floating in mid-channel down the river. If, however, contrary winds cause rough water, accidents sometimes happen from the washing away of the slime, and the boat founders. This slime, mixed with pitch and suffered to become hard, would therefore have made a perfectly water-tight lining for the bulrush-boat of Moses.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DELIVERANCE.

And now in the good providence of God, the time had come for the deliverance of this down-trodden and abused race of Hebrews. Moses appears as the agent of Heaven to commence the work. In obedience to God's command, he demands of Pharaoh: "Let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness." "Let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the desert, and sacrifice unto the Lord our God." To this Pharaoh refuses his assent, and imposes on them additional burdens; taking from them the straw with which they had heretofore been furnished in the manufacture of brick, and compelling them to gather stubble for the purpose.

The agricultural scenes from the monuments show, that the usage among the Egyptians was to cut the grain some distance above the ground; and to this day, old sun-dried bricks, compacted with stubble instead of straw, are found not only in Egypt, but in Babylonia.

Upon the second application of Moses and Aaron, Pharaoh demands of them some miracle in proof of their commission. Such proof was not wanting: and here, before entering upon the consideration of it, a few preliminary remarks may be of service. It has been observed of all the unusual incidents

preceding the exodus, that they find a foundation in the *natural* phenomena of Egypt, and stand in close connection with ordinary occurrences; and this has been urged as an argument against the truth of the story. To give force to this objection, it is necessary to establish the fact, that the performance of no act, which, under any circumstances might have occurred of itself, in the natural course of events, can possibly be miraculous. But this proposition is very far from being true. Take, for instance, hail and locusts; it will not follow that, because both these exist in nature, they therefore never can appear under circumstances which will prove them to be miraculous. Grant them to be common manifestations in nature, still, when they, with many other events that might happen in nature occur in rapid succession and with great intensity, out of their usual order of occurrence; when they do so in a particularly specified region of country, and at a particular time, on the bidding of some individual; when at the same bidding they cease, and in some instances cease at a precise time previously designated by the person who is affected by them, and earnestly requests their withdrawal; it is idle under such circumstances to view them as mere natural phenomena, presenting themselves in their ordinary occurrence. There is something preternatural here; and the distinction must be taken between the occurrence itself, and *the very unnatural and extraordinary combination of circumstances under which it occurs.* Hail may be very natural, and yet the attendant circumstances of its appearance may prove its presence at a particular time and place, its duration and cessation, all to be supernatural. There is, therefore, no difficulty in understanding how a natural phenomenon may be converted into miraculous proof.

Further, in reference particularly to the plagues sent on Egypt, which merit our consideration, we should remark the fitness of the character of the miracles performed to the end proposed. A succession of strange and unprecedented terrors, brought suddenly and in rapid succession on Egypt, would not have served as well as the plagues did to accomplish the great end in view; which was, as we are told, to show that Jehovah was "the Lord in the midst of the earth" or land. These terrors would have only proved that, for the moment, Jehovah possessed a terrific power: but idolatry was much more likely to find a lasting reproof and condemnation, when many events with which the Egyptians were familiar (for some of them were of annual recurrence) were seen succeeding each other, out of place; showing that the Jehovah of Israel was indeed "God *in the midst of the land*," ordering and altering, as he pleased, events with which they were well enough acquainted in their ordinary mode of occurrence. There was, therefore, here a special reason for a class of miracles, uniting the supernatural with the natural. And to this it may be added, that in the Scriptures generally, while there are miracles entirely separated from all union with natural events, (such are most, if not all, of those by the Saviour,) yet there is a large class in which the supernatural is blended with the natural. Such blending does not destroy the miracle, or impugn its testimony to truth.

We now proceed to the Scripture story. It will be remembered that certain *signs*, not hurtful in their effects, precede the *plagues*, properly so called. The first of these is,

The change of Moses' rod to a serpent.

Before entering on a consideration of the fact here men-

tioned, it may be remarked, that we find the *rod* to be the inseparable companion of Moses. This was not accidental, for it was an Egyptian custom. On the monuments, the Egyptian nobles are almost always seen with the rod when they are without the house. It is a staff from three to six feet long. Some of them have been found among the ruins, and are preserved in modern museums. One of them, thus preserved, is of cherry wood. Generally, it would seem, the acacia was preferred. The priests also, and other persons of rank, are often represented as walking with sticks.

One of the most curious subjects of inquiry connected with natural science, is the power possessed by man over the serpent race, both in ancient and modern times, and especially in Egypt. Indeed, the accounts are such as to startle credulity; and yet, so strong is the testimony on which they rest, that incredulity becomes unreasonable, and betrays the vulgarity of a mind that fancies independence in the rejection of every thing that is very strange, (no matter what the testimony,) unless its existence has been verified by personal experience or observation.

Some of the testimony we have on this subject does not come from a class of men, likely to betray any undue anxiety to sustain the truth of the Pentateuch. The men of science who went from France, and furnished the "*Description de l'Egypte*," all agree in their accounts. Some, who candidly acknowledge that they entered on their examination of the subject with utter unbelief, were forced to acknowledge that there was in it something more than their philosophy could fathom. "We confess," (thus write some,) "that we, far removed from all easy credulity, have ourselves been witnesses of some things so wonderful, that we cannot consider

the art of the serpent tamers as entirely chimerical. We believed, at first, that they removed the teeth of serpents and the stings of scorpions; but we have had opportunity to convince ourselves of the contrary." "I am convinced," (says Quatremère,) "that there was a certain number of men, found among the Psylli of antiquity, who, by certain secret preparations, put themselves in a condition not to fear the bite of serpents, and to handle the most poisonous of them, uninjured." "In Egypt and the neighboring countries," (says the same author,) "there are men and women who truly deserve the name of Psylli, and who, uninjured, handle the cerastes and other serpents, whose poison produces immediate death." Hasselquist says that they do not extract their teeth.

The Psylli are formed into an association, and the art is transmitted from father to son. In Egypt, serpents not unfrequently conceal themselves in houses, and thus become very dangerous. A part of the business of the Psylli is to dislodge the unwelcome intruder. The French commander-in-chief, on one occasion, resolved to test the powers of the Psylli. Traces led to the suspicion that a serpent had found its way into the palace he occupied. The Psylli were summoned. They examined closely all moist places, and there imitated the hissing, first of the male, then of the female serpent. After a little more than two hours, they lured him out.

In their religious festivals they present probably the most frightful exhibition: they then appear entirely naked, with the neck, arms, and other parts of the body, actually coiled around by serpents, which they permit to bite and tear their chests and stomachs, while they themselves, in a sort of wild frenzy, having their features contorted to an expression of insanity, with foam falling from the mouth, bite the serpents

in return. In fact, some modern travellers state that they have seen them actually eat their heads.

Not the least singular part of their strange calling is their sleight of hand. They will change the Haje, the species of serpent which they use for this trick, into a seeming rod, and compel it to feign the rigidity of death. To perform this, they spit in its throat, compel it to shut its mouth, and lay it down upon the ground. Then, they lay their hand on its head, and immediately the serpent, stiff and motionless, falls into a kind of torpor. When they wish, they rouse it by seizing it by the tail and roughly rubbing it between their hands. To this Du Bois Aymé, one of the French school, bears witness.

Of this same species, which is often to be seen sculptured on the monuments, and which is the undoubted cneph or agathodœmon of the ancient Egyptians, Colonel Smith informs us that it inflates the skin of the neck into an intumefaction of that part; and the Psylli or serpent charmers, by a particular pressure on the neck, can render the inflation of the animal so intense that the serpent becomes rigid, and can be held out horizontally as if it were a staff. We may, therefore, he thinks, "infer that the magicians of Pharaoh used a real serpent for a rod—namely this species, now called *Naja Haje*, for their imposture; since they, no doubt, did what the present serpent charmers perform with the same species by means of a temporary asphyxiation or suspension of vitality; and producing restoration to active life, by liberating or throwing down." This statement affords us, at least, evidence of remarkable facts connected with the serpent tamers of both ancient and modern Egypt, sufficient to show that the story we have in the Pentateuch is in harmony with an existing state of things in the time of Moses. Jannes and Jambres, who, as

we elsewhere learn from Jewish traditions, are supposed to be those who, on this occasion, withstood Moses, may have been but expert jugglers: but it is of very little importance to inquire by which of their many tricks they accomplished their seeming miracle. The real miracle consists in this, that Moses' rod was truly changed into a serpent, and then *devoured theirs*. The object was to show the power of the true God, and whatever seeming imitations the magicians might furnish, it is remarkable that in the three first signs Moses gave of his mission, that power was proved. Thus here Moses' rod swallows up theirs; they also seemingly changed, on a limited scale, water into blood, but they cannot do, as Moses does, *convert it again into water;* so, too, they brought up frogs on the land, but they could not, like Moses, *free the land from them*. It is also to be noted that the author of the Pentateuch does not pretend to speak with certainty on the origin or nature of the acts performed by the magicians. He commits himself to no opinion by calling them either jugglery, or miracles performed by God's permission under satanic influences; but contents himself with a simple statement of the facts, without entering into an explanation of them. The only issue, therefore, that is here made, is as to the fact itself. Those who deny it are bound to produce some proof, not that it was unusual merely, but that it was actually *impossible*. We have shown that in Egypt, something, very similar to it at least, might have seemingly been done by these magicians; and that, in the absence of all proof to the contrary, is quite sufficient to show that Egypt, in this particular, has revealed nothing to contradict the Bible. For ourselves, we are free to admit that, while we look on all the plagues of Egypt as miraculous displays of Divine power, we hope to show that so far

as natural phenomena are involved in them, nothing that we know of that ancient land, will be found, but what harmonizes with the Scripture narration.

The first Plague—the change of Water into Blood.

The change here indicated, it is supposed, and that not without sufficient reason, (gathered from other and analogous passages,) does not imply any thing more than a change to a blood-red color. It is a very common form of Hebrew speech to express similarity by identity.

Those who are anxious to find an explanation of the plagues of Egypt, in mere natural and ordinary events of that country, are peculiarly unfortunate with this one.

1. It is said, and truly, that the waters of the Nile during one period of their increase become of a brownish red color, owing probably to the earth washed down from Abyssinia, and that the discoloration here spoken of arises from that cause.

The first and most obvious answer to this is; that, on this supposition, it is not easy to understand why the Egyptians should have been either surprised or intimidated by so familiar an occurrence.

But further: a part of the phenomenon, according to the Bible, is thus recorded: "The river shall stink, and the Egyptians shall loathe to drink of the water of the river." It could not then have been the ordinary discoloration of a common overflow; for, in such case, the water does not cease to be drinkable. "During the continuance of my journey," (says Sonnini,) "I, with my companions, had no other drink than the unmingled water of the Nile. We drank it without any one of us experiencing inconvenience, at all seasons of the year, even when the inundation so fills it with slime that

it is thick and reddish, and appears truly loathsome." The fact would appear, from the accounts of travellers, to be, that, so far from its red color making it unwholesome, it is rather a sign that it is fit for use: for it is preceded by a greenish discoloration, during which it is so corrupt, tasteless, and unwholesome, that the natives confine themselves to the water which they have preserved in cisterns.

But, thirdly, this could not have been the discoloration of the usual overflow, from a consideration of the *time* of the occurrence. It is true, as Dr. Hales has remarked, that the season of the year is not distinctly specified; and yet there are abundant data from which it may be ascertained with certainty. We read that at the time of these plagues, and particularly of that of hail, which *followed* the one we are considering, "the flax and the barley was smitten, for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled: but the wheat and the rice were not smitten; for they were not grown up." Now these statements enable us to fix the season of the year. Flax in Egypt ripens in March, when the plants are gathered; it must therefore have been "bolled," or risen in stalk in February. Barley is gathered in Egypt, according to all the accounts, one month before the wheat. The wheat harvest in Upper Egypt is in April, and in Lower Egypt in May: barley, therefore, would have been in ear in February. The season, therefore, must have been about February, when the plague of hail happened; certainly not later than that month. The change from water to blood was *before* the hail—probably in January; but the discoloration of the river, from the natural overflow, does not take place until months after February, and the commencement of the rise is punctual almost to a day. The only ground, therefore, on which this

can be considered the annual, natural discoloration of the river is, that the river must have risen months before its time; and we do not see that this anticipatory rise at the command of Moses, which is the solution of Michaelis, would have been any less miraculous than the discoloration of the water.

But there is another fact stated that is conclusive. *The fish died.* Of such an effect as this, produced by the annual rise of the river, there is not an instance on record. Another feature, which stamps the event as no mere natural result of well-known ordinary causes, is this, that the waters are changed *suddenly*, not gradually, as in a rise; and, further, that the change was according to the prediction of Moses, and at the precise moment when he lifted his rod. There are also some matters of seemingly minor importance connected with this plague, which are yet testimony much too strong to be overlooked. Every man, familiar with the business of examining evidence, knows full well that sometimes the great work of eviscerating truth is accomplished by closely marking the *incidental* statements of a witness, having seemingly little or no connection with the principal subject. Such remarks often betray a prepared story, of which all the little minor details that ought to belong to it, if true, have not been duly studied beforehand: and so also they often show an unstudied consistency in every minute particular, because the witness is simply telling the truth, with no further or other preparation than that of drawing on his memory for facts. Now, here are some particulars in the writer of our history of precisely this description. They are brought forward with no parade, accompanied with no labored explanation to show their consistency with the chief features of the story, but mentioned casually, as if by a man who took it for granted

that all who heard him knew as well as he did the manners and customs of the country of which he was speaking. Thus he tells us that God commanded Moses to stretch out his rod "that there may be blood throughout all the land of Egypt, *both in vessels of wood and in vessels of stone.*" Now in these latter words there is evident particularity: they are not necessary to impress us with either the extent or reality of the miracle; and except from a man perfectly familiar with the customs of Egypt, we should probably not have had them without explanation. The waters of the Nile are frequently purified for drinking in vessels both of wood and stone. As on the Mississippi river, at this day, they are placed in vessels, and crushed almonds are dropped in, to cause a speedy precipitation of the sediment. They are also filtered through porous stone. The point here to which we would attach importance is not, however, so much the coincidence of Egyptian usages with the language used, as it is the perfectly natural and unpremeditated manner in which the allusion is made. The author supposes that a mere hint is enough, without pausing to reflect whether all his readers are as familiar as he is with the peculiarities of Egypt. And by the way, we must not omit to remark, that the change in the domestic vessels of the Egyptians containing *purified* water was certainly not produced by the red earth of the river, and consequently here, at least, is a miracle. All the German school are careful to overlook this part of the story.

Again: Moses is commanded to stretch out his hand "upon the waters of Egypt, upon their *streams*, and upon their *rivers*, [as we translate it, but as we should read it, and as the Septuagint does, *canals*,] and upon their *ponds*, and upon all their *pools*, [or, as in the margin, gatherings of their

waters.] Why this elaborate classification of the waters of Egypt? Because of its conformity to the truth, which feared not to classify, because it feared no detection of falsehood. The streams (says Faber) are the arms of the Nile, the canals the artificial ditches for irrigation, the ponds are the stagnant bodies of water which the Nile makes, and which are called in Egypt *birkeh*, and the pools or gatherings of their waters are the waters left behind by the Nile on its subsidence, the lakes and puddles, from which the peasants at a distance from the river get their water.

Further: the instructions given to Moses were, "Get thee unto Pharaoh in the morning; lo, he goeth out unto the water; and thou shalt stand by the river's brink against he come," &c. And again: "Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh; lo, he cometh forth to the water," &c. Why this positive certainty that early in the morning the king would be by the river brink? Because the Nile was deified. The monuments furnish ample proof of this fact, and Pharaoh's early resort to it was but an habitual act of devotion. On the whole, then, it would seem to be plain from the story of this plague, not only that the author had a perfectly accurate knowledge of the usages of Egypt, but that he also relates them with such unpremeditated simplicity as creates a strong proof of their truthfulness.

The second Plague—the Frogs.

Here, as before, the object of superstition became the instrument of punishment. The frog was one of the deities of Egypt, and, as might be expected, abundant enough in such a country. In connection, however, with our general subject, there is nothing calling for special remark, beyond the fact that this

must have been a terrible annoyance to a people so scrupulously clean as were the Egyptians. It is also to be observed that Pharaoh, alarmed by this plague, entreated its removal, and, by direction of Moses, named the time at which it should disappear. At that time it did disappear, thus proving the miraculous nature of the transaction.

The third Plague—Lice or Gnats.

There has been much learned discussion as to the insect that constituted this plague. The Hebrew word is *kinnim*. The Septuagint translates it by the Greek word σκνίφες, which means properly the gnat, which we call the mosquito, an insect most abundant and troublesome in Egypt. The learned seem generally to concur in the opinion that this is the insect meant by the word *kinnim*, because the translators of the Septuagint who lived in Egypt, and therefore knew what insect was meant, have thus translated it; as have also Origen and Jerome, both of whom had better opportunities of knowing what was meant than we have. It is, however, not to be denied that there are some who adhere to the version in our translation. It is, however, of but little moment which of the two named insects was meant; both are painfully abundant in Egypt, and on this occasion were brought in swarms most extraordinary, even in that country; perhaps, too, they were produced thus abundantly, at a time of the year when they do not usually abound. There is, however, in this plague, little, if there be any thing, connected with the subject we are considering.

The fourth Plague—the Flies.

Here again, there seems to be some doubt as to the precise nature of the insect meant. The Hebrew (*arob*) is rendered

in the Vulgate, *omne genus muscarum*, all sorts of flies, and hence our version reads it, "swarms of *flies*;" but the word for *flies* is not in the original. The word *arob* can scarcely have any other meaning than *the mingling*, or *mixture*. Some have hence supposed that the plague consisted of an immense number of beasts of prey of various kinds; others suppose it to have been a mixture of divers species of annoying insects; while others again think that it was a fly, principally because the Septuagint translates *arob* by a Greek word meaning dog-fly. To this latter reading it has been objected that it is said "the land was corrupted by reason of the swarm," and that this could hardly be applied to any fly properly so called: beside, in Psalm lxxxviii. 45, the *arob* is described as *devouring* the Egyptians, an act that seems inapplicable to a fly. A modern opinion that seems to have gained many supporters is, that the Egyptian beetle is here meant by *arob*. If this be so, then here again, as in the case of the frogs, the Egyptians were chastised through one of their own idols. It was one of the sacred animals of Egypt.

But the circumstance most worthy of note in the history of this plague is this: when it appeared, "Pharaoh called for Moses and for Aaron, and said, Go ye, sacrifice to your God in the land. And Moses said, It is not meet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God: lo, shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us? We will go three days' journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice to the Lord our God."

Here is an undoubted reference to Egyptian opinions and customs, with which the story agrees. The meaning almost universally given to it is, that the Israelites could not offer

their sacrifices in Egypt, because their own lives would be taken, if they killed, even in sacrifice, animals deemed sacred in Egypt. The sacred animals of Egypt were of different grades. Some were absolutely worshipped as gods; others were looked on as living symbols of the gods. Some were worshipped generally throughout Egypt; others in particular districts only. Nor did the several districts always make the same animal the idol; as we have said before, the god of one was the object of execration in another. Those that were principally esteemed and honored with a more intense devotion, either generally or particularly, were the solitary bull Apis, (not bulls generally,) the cow, the sheep, goat, cat, dog, ichneumon and crocodile: among birds, the hawk and the ibis. But whatever might be the animal god of the highest order, it was guarded and protected with the deepest reverence. Lands were assigned for its special support. To kill it was unpardonable sacrilege, and even if it were done by accident, it was punished with death. If a fire happened, there was the greatest anxiety lest any of the godly race of cats should perish in the flames. They embalmed the dead bodies of their beastly idols; made great lamentation over them, and buried them with pomp. Diodorus relates an anecdote, which may serve to explain the apprehension of Moses. He states it as having occurred while he was in Egypt.

Some Romans were in that country, for the purpose of making a treaty with the king. The Roman power was then much feared; and the people, anxious for the treaty, bestowed on the strangers uncommon attention and civility. One of them unintentionally killed a cat. Instantly, notwithstanding the strong grounds for forbearance, the people rose in an ungovernable mob, hastened to the lodging of the unfor-

tunate man; and not even the personal interference of the king himself, nor the dread of the Roman power, could save his life.

The animals which the Israelites would offer in sacrifice, were the oxen, the cow, the sheep, and the goat. All were sacred in Egypt; and though the oxen might sometimes be sacrificed, yet it was not every ox that might be made the victim. It was necessary that the beast, before he was slain, should be closely examined by a priest, to see that he was free from certain marks; the presence of which would have made him sacred, and unfit for a victim. Herodotus tells us, that only a red ox could be offered; one single black hair would cause it to be set aside. Cows were all consecrated to Athor, and could not on any account be sacrificed. The sheep was sacred in the locality of the transaction we are considering, and so was the goat. What Moses meant, therefore, probably was, that the Egyptians would have risen in a body, and in their religious frenzy would have massacred the Israelites, had they attempted to offer their sacrifices in Egypt.

Hengstenberg very ingeniously reasons to prove, that the offence of the Israelites in sacrificing would have consisted in their entire disregard of what, among the Egyptians, was a point of great religious importance, viz., the *cleanness* of the animal offered. Herodotus says: "They are not allowed to sacrifice any animals, except those that are clean among them;" and hence Moses says: "Lo, shall we sacrifice the *abomination* of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us?" From this he infers, that the animals alluded to by Moses in the word "abomination," could not be consecrated among the Egyptians; for the word would then have

been inapplicable: but that what is meant by "abomination," is *unclean* animals, inasmuch as the Israelites would not look to see if a black hair could be found on a red ox, before they would sacrifice it. On either view, the danger to Moses and the Israelites would be the same.

Fifth Plague—the Destruction of the Animals.

The destruction, it was declared should be on the horses, the asses, the camels, the oxen, and the sheep. It is perhaps here worthy of note that horses, and that without any accompanying remark, are assigned the first place. It furnishes an item to be added to the general and incidental evidences of probability. The destruction of the horse, from its value and extensive use in Egypt, would be likely to be deemed the crowning calamity in any injury to the domestic animals. We know not enough of the diseases of animals in Egypt, to say whether at any time they are visited by a general desolation. The French "Description" informs us, that a murrain sometimes is very general and fatal among the *horned cattle;* compelling the inhabitants to supply their losses from Syria, and the islands of the Archipelago.

We must not omit here to notice the positive testimony of our author, to the existence of the camel in Egypt. We have touched on this point in our remarks upon the gifts made by Pharaoh to Abraham. It was supposed by the French literati, that the figure of the camel was nowhere to be found on the monuments. Even had this been true, it would not have established the falsehood of our history; for we have no right to assume, that the sculptures and paintings embrace or were meant to embrace, the whole circle of Egyptian zoology. But, as we have already mentioned, it is not true. The head

and long necks of these animals are repeated several times, two by two, upon the obelisks at Luxor, when they were discovered by Minutoli. Regnier suggests, that even if they were wanting, it might reasonably be explained on the ground that, however useful the animal, it was associated so closely with the idea of the detested nomade shepherds, that it would not be permitted to appear in Egypt's sacred places. The animal certainly was in common use among the nomade tribes on the borders of Egypt, and was indispensable in the neighboring deserts, from the earliest period of which we have any evidence; and as a communication for trade, or other purposes, was kept up between Egypt and her wandering neighbors, from our earliest knowledge of her history; it is scarce possible that the camel should not, in a greater or less degree, have been found in the valley of the Nile.

The sixth Plague—the Boils.

This visited both man and beast "throughout all the land of Egypt." It touched even the scrupulously clean magicians or priests, and they seem to have retired from further rivalry. Differences of opinion exist among the learned as to what is meant by boils. It is of the less importance that we should state them, because there is nothing connected with the history of this visitation, that falls within our purpose of illustrating Scripture truth by Egyptian testimony.

The seventh Plague—the Thunder, and Hail, and Fire.

By fire is here meant lightning; and such a tempest as is here described would have been terrific any where, even in the tropics; but in Egypt, such a visitation, as her meteorology shows, would have been more alarming than in any other

country; more particularly, when the adjacent province of Goshen was seen to be untouched. It is not wonderful, therefore, that this calamity made the deepest impression upon the stubborn nature of Pharaoh.

In the account of this plague, there are some noteworthy references to facts such as are found in Egypt. Thus, Moses warns Pharaoh: "Send therefore, now, and gather thy cattle and all that thou hast in the field; for upon every man and beast which shall be found in the field, and shall not be brought home, the hail shall come down upon them, and they shall die." The cattle, then, were *in the field* at that time, not in the stall. With this other accounts agree. According to the "Description," the cattle get green food (in the fields) four months in the year; the rest of the time they are stall-fed. Niebuhr tells us what months these four are: "In the months January, February, March, and April, the cattle graze, whereas during the remaining months they must be supplied with dry fodder." The transaction we are considering occurred in March.

We have (in fixing the time for the plagues) already adverted to another fact recorded in the history of this visitation. "The flax and the barley was smitten; for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled. But the wheat and the rye were not smitten, for they were not grown up." This exactly agrees with the state of the crops in Egypt at this day, at the time of the year here indicated. Dr. Richardson, in his "Travels," speaking of March, (the early part of it,) says: "The barley and flax are now far advanced; the former is in the ear and the latter is bolled, and it seems to be about this season of the year that God brought the plague of thunder and hail upon the Egyptians, to punish the guilty Pha-

raoh, who had hardened his presumptuous heart against the miracles of Omnipotence." We learn, too, from Sonnini, that barley comes to maturity in Egypt about a month before wheat. Wheat and rye mature there about the same time. Flax and barley are generally ripe in March, wheat and rye in April. It was the same in former times: Theophrastus and Pliny both tell us that there was a month's difference in the harvesting of barley and wheat.

The eighth Plague—the Locusts.

The succession of calamities with which Egypt had been visited seem at length to have roused the people to expostulation. "Knowest thou not yet that Egypt is ruined?" was the emphatic question with which they accompanied their advice that Israel might be permitted to depart. It is not to be doubted, that the great contest so obviously going on between the power of Jehovah, and the proud obstinacy of Pharaoh, had by this time effectually roused the close attention of all, both of Egypt and Israel. All stood waiting with interest the result. The labors of the oppressed descendants of Abraham had probably ceased; and congregated in Goshen, (for there only could they be exempt from God's fearful manifestations of his might,) they began to believe that God was working deliverance for them by the agency of his prophet; and looking at the gathering dismay of the Egyptians, they gladly hoped that the time of their deliverance had indeed come.

Pharaoh, moved doubtless by the unequivocal manifestations of feeling on the part of his own people, summons Moses and Aaron to his presence, to yield a reluctant assent to the exode of the *men* only of Israel. The spirited answer of

Moses, that none should be left behind, rouses the royal indignation, and he commands the leaders of Israel to be thrust from his presence.

Then came the locusts. This insect is common in Arabia, but comparatively rare in Egypt; as the Red Sea forms a species of barrier against them, they not being able to sustain a long flight across large bodies of water. The time of their appearance, too, was much earlier than is usual in Egypt; and so far as the agency of natural causes was concerned, "a strong east wind" assists their transit across the sea. This alone was remarkable, as the prevalent winds which blow in Egypt are six months from the north, and six months from the south.

We have not been without opportunities, even in some parts of our own country, of seeing the large number of these insects, and of observing the extent of their ravages in the removal of verdure from the trees; but in Egypt their path was literally marked by ruin. "The locusts went up over all the land of Egypt, and rested in all the coasts of Egypt. Very grievous were they: before them were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall there be such. *For they covered the face of the whole earth*, so that the land was darkened; and they *ate up every green herb upon the earth*, and every tree, the fruit of which the hail had left; *not any green thing remained on the trees, or on the herbs of the field, through all the land of Egypt.*"

That, at the proper season, the swarms of locusts in Egypt may be very destructive, though not to the extent here described, is proved by Denon. After describing what is called a *chamsin* in Egypt, a wind attended with a species of unnatural darkness from dust and other causes, he thus proceeds:

"Two days after this calamity, we were informed that the plain was covered with birds, which flew in dense flocks from east to west. We, in fact, saw from a distance that the fields seemed to move, or at least that a long current flowed through the plain. Supposing that they were strange birds which had flown hither, in such great numbers, we hastened our pace in order to observe them. But, instead of birds, we found a cloud of locusts which made the land bald; for they stopped on each stalk of grass to devour it, and then flew further for spoil. At a time of the year when the corn is tender, they would have been a real plague; as lean, as efficient, and as lively as the Arab Bedouin, they are also a production of the desert. After the wind had changed its course, so as to blow directly against them, it swept them back into the desert."

It is impossible to read this account, and not be struck with its singular agreement with ours in certain particulars. In both stories, the locusts come from the east to the west; in both their coming is connected with a peculiar wind, and in both, they are driven away by a counter wind. As to this last point, our Bible tells us, the Lord sent "a mighty strong *west* wind," by which they were driven back. In the original, it is "a *sea-wind*," meaning a wind blowing from the Mediterranean, which in Syria would of course be westerly, hence it is translated west wind: in Egypt, such a wind would be northwesterly, and yet be properly expressed by the original term, a sea-wind. Von Bohlen objects to the author of the Pentateuch, as a fault of ignorance, and therefore an argument against his credibility, that he makes the locusts come *from the east*, with the wind. The reader has before him, the means of judging what force there is in the objection. It

may well be doubted whether, in Egypt, they are ever seen coming in swarms from any other quarter. Should it be supposed that the locusts of Egypt, mentioned in our narrative, were but a natural phenomenon; we readily admit that an appearance of locusts may be natural, and yet, as we have endeavored to explain in our opening remarks on the plagues, it may be connected with such attendant circumstances, ***not natural and ordinary***, as clearly prove miraculous power.

The ninth Plague—Darkness.

In Egypt, a cloud seldom obscures the sun; the sky is beautifully clear and transparent. A darkness of three days, therefore, which was so thick that, in the emphatic and poetical language of Scripture, it "***might be felt***," must have been to the Egyptians an appalling event. "No one rose from his place for three days." Even Pharaoh was moved, and offered to let the people go; but wished to retain their flocks and herds as security for their return. Then it was that Moses gave his determined answer: "***There shall not a hoof be left behind.***"

How far this darkness may have been connected with natural causes, it is impossible to say. There is no intimation given in the narrative which authorizes the affirmation of any specific natural agency. Some have supposed that a dense fog was spread over the land. Admit it, a fog of three days would be a miracle in Egypt; for nature never spontaneously produces one there of even one day's continuance.

Others have attributed the darkness to the *chamsin*, of which we just now spoke. We are not aware that there is any record of the chamsin's continuing to produce the thickest darkness for three days; and the very interesting accounts of

it, which we are about to present to the reader, scarcely seem, in our view, to be descriptive of such a state of the atmosphere as is implied in the Bible account of the Egyptian plague of darkness. There is an obscurity in which our history leaves this miracle, that is characteristic of the miracle. It seems to us to be purposely (we know not why, and presume not to conjecture) more involved in obscurity than any of the other plagues. Our belief, however, is not at all affected by the determination of the question, whether it is or is not, associated with natural causes; for we must beg leave to repeat, that even natural causes, *acting for a time non-naturally*, in extent or otherwise, show the hand of God, and prove a miracle.

Du Bois Aymé (one of the French school) compares the Mosaic darkness to the chamsin. He says, "When the chamsin blows, the sun is pale yellow; its light is obscured, and the darkness is sometimes so great, that one seems to be in the blackest night, as we experienced in the middle of the day at Cene, a city of Said." Sonnini thus writes: "The atmosphere was heated, and at the same time obscured by clouds of dust; the thermometer of Reaumur stood at 27 degrees. Men and animals breathed only vapor, and that was heated and mingled with a fine and hot sand. Plants drooped, and all living nature languished. This wind also continued to the 27th; it appeared to me, to have increased in force. The air was dark on account of a thick mist of fine dust as red as flame."

Much the most particular and interesting account, however, is Denon's. "On the 18th of May, in the evening, I felt as if I should perish from the suffocating heat. All motion of the air seemed to have ceased. As I went to the Nile to bathe for the relief of my painful sensations, I was astonished by a new

sight. Such light and such colors I had never seen. The sun, without being veiled with clouds, had been shorn of its beams. It gave only a white and shadowless light, more feeble than the moon. The water reflected not its rays, and appeared disturbed. Every thing assumed another appearance; the air was darker, a yellow horizon caused the trees to appear of a pale blue. Flocks of birds fluttered about before the clouds. The frightened animals ran about in the fields, and the inhabitants who followed them with their cries, could not collect them. The wind which had raised immense clouds of dust, and rolled them along before itself, had not yet reached us. We thought that if we went into the water, which at this moment was quiet, we should avoid this mass of dust, which was driven toward us from the southwest; but we were scarcely in the river, when it began suddenly to swell, as if it would overflow its banks. The waves broke over us, and the ground heaved under our feet. Our garments flew away when seized by the whirlwind, which had now reached us. We were compelled to go to land. Wet, and beaten by the wind, we were soon surrounded by a ridge of sand. A reddish, dusky appearance filled the region; with wounded eyes, and nose so filled that we could hardly breathe, we strayed from one another, lost our way, and found our dwellings with great difficulty, feeling along by the walls. Then, we sensibly felt how terrible the condition must be, when one is overtaken by such a wind in the desert."

The tenth Plague—Death of the First-born.

Some have supposed that this was a pestilence similar to the plague of Egypt at this day. There is not the smallest evidence to sustain such an opinion, and the plague never

made its appearance in Egypt, so far as we have been able to discover its history, until long after the days of Moses. Hengstenberg ascribes the disease, here spoken of, to the prevalence, just before, of the chamsin, mentioned under the last head; and so far as natural causes may have been employed to an unusually fearful extent, there may be plausibility in his conjecture. It may be true, as he states, that epidemic disease at this day generally succeeds the prevalence of a chamsin; but we look on this occurrence as resulting from causes, far without the circle of ordinary natural causes. It affords, however, but little in illustration of our subject.

This plague produced the effect which God had said it should. A voice of lamentation was heard through the length and breadth of the land, save in Goshen. The destroying angel had performed his work; and with a haste engendered by fear, Pharaoh bade Israel go. It was night, but they waited for no dawn of day or second bidding. All was ready, they commenced their exode, and turning their backs on Egypt, they left it as a people for ever. God had broken their chains and they were free.

But they went not out alone; "a mixed multitude," as the Bible expresses it, went out with them, A part of this mixed multitude we have seen delineated on the picture of the brickmakers. They were Egyptians reduced to wretchedness by oppression and poverty; a species of Fellah of ancient Egypt. Some, also, of the multitude were probably foreign slaves, belonging to the chief persons among the Hebrews. Some, probably, were slaves belonging to the Egyptians, who availed themselves of the opportunity to escape from their masters. It is not recorded any where that the Israelites were at all benefited by their company; it may, therefore, be safely inferred

that they were the outcasts of society, for the most part thieves, vagabonds, adventurers and bankrupts, who could no longer stay with safety in Egypt.

A few days were sufficient to revive all the animosity of Egypt toward the Hebrews; and Pharaoh resolving on pursuit, "made ready his chariot, and took his people with him: and he took six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over every one of them:—and he pursued after the children of Israel." This statement is in correspondence with the sculptures, which show numerous instances of the Egyptian war chariots, and attest the great use made of them. By "his people," is meant his army, i. e. infantry, as distinguished from his "chariots and horsemen."

We have, on a former page, called attention to the fact that Manetho (the favorite authority of a certain class of writers on Egypt) has distinctly admitted that there was such a person as Moses, though he calls him a leper; and we have endeavored to show that, for our purpose, it matters little whether this admission come from the real or spurious Manetho: we are happy in being able to add, that the admirers of this Egyptian writer cannot, without a contradiction of their favorite witness, deny the facts of the exode of the Israelites and the pursuit of them by Pharaoh, as here recorded. Eusebius gives us the following passage from the lost history of Manetho: "The Heliopolitans relate that the king, with a great army, accompanied by the sacred animals, pursued after the Jews, who had carried off with them the substance of the Egyptians." So that here the ancient records of Egypt itself (from which it is claimed Manetho drew his information) are bearing testimony to the truth of what is written in the ancient records of the Hebrews.

But some, by way of objection, have asked how could Pharaoh so speedily assemble a great army for pursuit? The objection is singularly unfortunate for those who would deny the truth of the Bible story. The very rapidity with which he assembled these troops is remarkably in agreement with facts which we will now relate. The greater part of the standing army of Egypt was habitually concentrated in this very region from which the Israelites took their departure, because it was the most exposed frontier of the land. They constituted the garrison of certain walled or fortified towns in that region. Herodotus has expressly named the nomes or provinces in which the military force was quartered. No less than sixteen and a half nomes were within the Delta. "In the Mosaic times," (says Heeren,) "the warrior caste first appears in Lower Egypt. The rapidity with which the Pharaoh there mentioned could assemble the army with which he pursued the fugitive Israelites, evinces clearly enough that the Egyptian warriors of that epoch must have been quartered in just the same district in which Herodotus places them."

It comports not with the leading purpose of our work to enter into the much controverted point of the passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites. Those who have discussed it may be divided into the two classes of those who have been willing to find the place of transit any where, provided the locality, by means of shoals or other causes, would deprive the occurrence of its miraculous character; and those who, believing it to be a miracle, endeavor, from the Bible and other sources, to fix its locality, without troubling themselves to inquire into the existence of shoals or winds that may account for the extraordinary passage. We trust, however, we may be pardoned for availing ourselves of this opportunity of bringing

before the reader a very sensible and spirited letter from one, who has at last received tardy justice at the hands of the public, for a long-continued and undeserved distrust of his truth. We allude to Bruce.

Michaelis (who raised much of the discussion on this subject) sent to Niebuhr, who was then in Egypt, certain queries; one of which proposed to him, to inquire "whether there were not some ridges of rock, where the water was shallow, so that an army at particular times might pass over? And secondly, whether the Etesian winds, which blow strongly all the summer from the northwest, could not blow so violently against the sea as to keep it back in a heap, so that the Israelites might have passed *without a miracle?*" Niebuhr answered, distinctly, that there was *no such shoal;* though he manifested in the rest of his reply a strong disposition to get rid of the miracle. A copy of the questions was left for Bruce. His answer does him honor.

"I must confess, however learned the gentlemen were who proposed these doubts, I did not think they merited any attention to solve them. This passage is told us by Scripture to be a *miraculous one;* and if so, we have nothing to do with *natural* causes. If we do not believe *Moses*, we need not believe the transaction at all, seeing that it is from his authority alone we derive it. If we believe in God that he *made* the sea, we must believe he could *divide* it when he sees proper reason; and of that he must be the only judge. It is no greater miracle to divide the *Red Sea*, than to divide the river *Jordan*.

"If the Etesian winds, blowing from the northwest in summer, could keep up the sea as a wall on the right, or to the south, of fifty feet high; still the difficulty would remain of

building the wall on the left hand, or to the north. Besides, water standing in that position for a day, must have lost the nature of fluid. Whence came that cohesion of particles which hindered that wall to escape at the sides? This is as great a miracle as that of *Moses*. If the Etesian winds had done this once, they must have repeated it many a time before and since from the same causes. Yet *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. iii. p. 122, says: The Troglodytes, the indigenous inhabitants of that very spot, had a tradition from father to son, from their very earliest ages, *that once this division of the sea did happen there; and that after leaving its bottom some time dry, the sea again came back and covered it with great fury*. The words of this author are of the most remarkable kind. We cannot think this heathen is writing in favor of revelation: he knew not *Moses*, nor says a word about *Pharaoh* and his host; but records the miracle of the division of the sea in words nearly as strong as those of *Moses*, from the mouths of unbiassed, undesigning pagans.

"Were all these difficulties surmounted, what could we do with the *pillar of fire*? The answer is, we should not believe it. Why then believe the passage at all? We have no authority for the one but what is for the other. It is altogether contrary to the ordinary nature of things, and if not a *miracle*, it must be a *fable*."

To this testimony of the Troglodyte tradition, we will only add, that evidence of the *pillar of fire* also is to be gathered from other testimony than that of the Bible; for the Egyptian chronologer writes, "It is said that fire flashed against them [the Egyptians] in front."

Miriam and her companions celebrated the triumph with music and dancing.

This is perfectly conformable to what they had learned of the manners and customs of the Egyptians. The sculptures show us triumphal dances of Egyptian females, with timbrels or tambourines in their hands. The instrument was usually played by women, who danced at the same time to its sound, without any other accompaniment. We meet with it frequently in the future history of the Hebrews, and it is observable, that every description of its use in the Bible finds an exact illustration in the Egyptian paintings and sculpture.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WANDERINGS.

THE first particular inviting our notice in the Bible history of the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness, is that of food. Before, however, we proceed to a consideration of any of the topics suggested by this part of our subject, it may be well to submit the general remark that, taking into view the precise condition of the Hebrews at this time, as a people born in Egypt, familiar only with Egyptian usages and opinions, accustomed to Egyptian conveniences, and differing probably from the natives of Egypt in the single particular of knowing, if not truly worshipping Jehovah, who had just manifested his power in their behalf; we are not to be surprised at discovering, as a natural consequence of these things, not merely that their thoughts often reverted with fond regret to the comforts of their native land; but that as time rolled on, and the purposes of God were gradually developed, and they fully knew that they should see Egypt no more, they should, in all the arrangements of their new position, with reference to laws, devotional habits, domestic usages, &c., assimilate their institutions to those they had left behind them, as far as was consistent with the great governing distinction of recognizing and worshipping the only true God.

We must expect, therefore, in this part of our subject, to see much which Egypt illustrates. In fact, it were easy to write on this topic, not merely a chapter, but a book. We will endeavor to select that only most likely to interest the reader, and at the same time afford the testimony we are seeking from Egypt.

Food.—Their first cry was for *bread.* We know that when the Israelites went out they "took their dough before it was leavened, their kneading-troughs being bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders." We are also informed that after entering on their journey, "they baked unleavened cakes of the dough which they brought forth out of Egypt." When the small quantity of food, which, as we learn from the Bible, they had, was exhausted, they were pressed by hunger, and cried for bread, as they had before done at Marah for water.

The Egyptians perfectly understood the art of baking, and we have already had occasion to remark that the monuments abundantly prove it. The Israelites, of course, had learned it, and had carried with them some, if not all, of the necessary implements for the work. We must not, however, be misled by names. The kneading-troughs here mentioned were not the utensils known to us by that name. They were small wooden bowls, such as the Arabs now use for kneading their bread, and were therefore no heavy burden.

Manna and quails were the food with which they were supplied. Of the first named, much has been written; and those reluctant to find a miracle in any thing have labored to prove that it is a gum that exudes, at this day, from the punctures made by insects in the twigs of the tamarisk plant. This gum, however, which is but in small quantities, by no means answers the description given of the manna; and even

if it did, it would not relieve the advocate of exclusive natural causes from his difficulty. For there would still be a great deal that is miraculous left: thus, the gum is yielded but six weeks in the year, but the manna was afforded constantly for forty years: a double supply came every Friday regularly, to compensate for its absence on the next day, the Sabbath. That collected on Friday would remain uncorrupted two days, while that gathered on any other day in the week, if kept to the next day, invariably became offensive, and unfit for use. To this there was made but one exception, and that a remarkable one, in the quantity that was preserved and laid up as a memorial, after the necessity for its use as food had ceased. Again, the gum is found under and about the tree from which it falls, the manna was showered down through the whole encampment of the Hebrews. If, therefore, the product of the tamarisk and the manna of the Israelites were the same article, we are obliged to admit a number of miraculous circumstances quite as strange as any recorded in the story of the Pentateuch. We must acknowledge a miracle, even if natural causes be invoked, or reject the account altogether. There is no other alternative. This manna, unlike the gum of the tamarisk, could be *pounded to powder*, and baked as bread. That the Israelites knew how to bake will not be doubted.

Indeed, that it was no natural production, and that the Israelites actually knew nothing about it, when they first saw it, is proved by their inquiring what it was, and by the very name bestowed on it. Josephus tells us that *man* is a particle of interrogation, and the Septuagint so understands it. When the Israelites, therefore, said to one another, "What is it?"

(*man-hu ?*) they unconsciously bestowed on it a name which proved their entire ignorance of its nature.

Quails ; Heb. *Selav.*—The same bird is still to be seen in the Levant. It is a bird of passage, remarkable for its migratory habits, and flies in such flocks to and from Africa, across the Mediterranean, that more than one hundred thousand have been killed at Naples at one time. The monuments show that the Egyptians were skilful fowlers, and from them the Israelites learned the art of snaring birds. Poultry and feathered game were favorite articles of food in Egypt; and the quail, which was often preserved by salting for future use, was particularly esteemed. An extraordinary wind sending immense flocks of these birds at this time over the camp of the Israelites, furnished them with a species of flesh which they particularly esteemed. The time and the quantity made the supply out of the usual order of natural events.

The Golden Calf of the Israelites.—This finds its illustration in Egyptian usages only. The points here to be examined are:

1. Had the Israelites skill to make such an image?
2. Why make a *calf?*
3. Why dance and sing around it in their idolatrous worship?
4. How could Moses make the Israelites drink the dust of it?

As to the skill of the Israelites as workmen in metals, there can be no doubt. The Egyptians, among whom they lived, knew perfectly how to work in metals; and some of their beautiful productions may be handled even at the present day. The monuments, were there no other evidence,

WORKING IN METALS.—FROM THE MONUMENTS.

would afford abundant proof of this. We give a cut from Wilkinson, showing that such is the case.

Here may be seen the various processes, from the weighing of the metal, through the melting, to the working of it up into articles. There were, and are no better metallurgists than the ancient Egyptians. They understood the nature of different alloys as well as we do; and much of the chemistry of the art was probably as familiar to them as it is to us.

As to the golden calf itself, it was (as a critically correct interpretation of the original shows) cast in a mould; and the precedent for this mode of manufacture was furnished by Egypt. But not only in the mode of making did the Israelites imitate the Egyptians; they did it also in the selection of the animal of which they made an idol. The Hebrews in Egypt had served the gods of that country; for in Joshua xxiv. 14, we read: "Now, therefore, fear the Lord, and serve him in sincerity and truth: and put away the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the flood, *and in Egypt;* and serve ye the Lord." The idol to which they here turned aside was an Egyptian god; and this is an answer to the second question, "Why make a *calf?*"

This god was Apis, the sacred bull of Memphis, under whose form Osiris was worshipped. As this was one of the most conspicuous of the deities in that idolatrous system which they had been accustomed to see, it explains why the first apostacy of the Israelites took this direction. The living Apis was kept at Memphis, but all over Egypt representative images of him were made, and the Israelites but followed an example with which they had long been unhappily too familiar.

Why *dance* and *sing* around it?

Because these two exercises were also Egyptian, and were particularly exhibited at the feast of Apis, as we learn from Herodotus. In the whole transaction connected with this idolatrous display on the part of Israel, it is impossible not to perceive the tendencies and feelings of a people who had grown up under Egyptian influences; and these are incidentally brought out in the casual allusion to so many little particulars, as to convince the unprejudiced, of the familiar acquaintance of the writer with all of Egypt's idolatrous system, and to impress a conviction of the author's truth.

How could Moses make the Israelites drink the dust of it? The manner in which this was done is a further proof of the extraordinary skill in the metallurgic arts possessed by the Egyptians; and, through their instruction, by the Hebrews. Modern chemistry employs tartaric acid, and reduces gold to powder. Stahl, one of the ablest chemists, informs us that *natron*, which is very common in the East, will produce the same effect; and if the metal be previously heated, the effect is sooner produced. Hence Moses in the first instance cast the image into the fire, and then made it potable. Now one of two consequences must follow; either he performed a miracle, or he possessed very extensive scientific attainments. There is no account of any miraculous intervention of Providence in the story; it then was the result of natural means, but such as none but a very well informed chemist could have known or used. No alternative then is left us but a positive denial of the facts, or an admission of the knowledge of Moses. We read in Acts vii. 22, that he "was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians;" we therefore believe that he here possessed the requisite knowledge, a point of some

importance when we come to ask *who* wrote the Pentateuch; for it is plain, even from what the reader has already seen, that it must have been written by some one who knew Egypt thoroughly, from actual observation.

There is another small item of evidence here, to establish the fact of Moses' knowledge. He strewed the gold dust on water, and made the children of Israel *drink it.* He was perfectly acquainted with the scientific effect of what he had done. He meant to aggravate the punishment, and impress upon their recollections the never to be forgotten memory of their disobedience, and to this latter end, he made their own sense of taste to minister; for of all detestable drinks, none is more so than that of gold thus rendered potable.

The making of the Tabernacle.—One of the objections urged as an argument against the truth of the Pentateuch is, that the skill of the Israelites was not competent to the production of the tabernacle and the priests' garments. That these imply a cultivation of the arts and an abundance of costly materials, such as the Hebrews could not have had when they left Egypt. Among the articles used were gold, silver, and brass, costly stuffs, furs, &c.; and these, it is said, the Israelites had not.

Of the skill required, we have already furnished some little proof gathered from the monuments, and showing, as far as a picture or sculpture can, the Egyptians actually employed in the work that would be necessary to make the tabernacle. Whatever intellectual and material resources the Egyptians possessed, it is plain the Hebrews must have also had the same; inasmuch as at the exode, every descendant of Abraham, as his fathers before him for many years had been, was by birth an Egyptian, and for generations all the instruction they

could have had was purely Egyptian. But there is another valuable object to be here attained. If it be shown that Israelitish art is connected with Egyptian by many peculiarities, it will prove that the condition of things is precisely such as it would be, on the supposition that the Pentateuch is historically accurate; and that if we discard that supposition, we cannot explain or account for numerous facts that meet us, inasmuch as no fictitious narrative could, with such perfect consistency, originate and sustain the close Egyptian relationship which we encounter at every step of our progress.

Precious Stones.—These were among the articles used by the Israelites. Bezaleel, who was the chief in the construction of the tabernacle, we are expressly told, "had skill in the cutting of stones to set them." Precious stones with engravings on them were also, as we read, set upon the ephod and breastplate of the high priest. We presume our readers will not have forgotten the drawings we have already produced of signet-rings and bracelets, containing precious stones, and those sculptured. Indeed, too many specimens are yet in existence in various museums to permit a doubt on this subject; and among them, are some older than the days of Abraham. Israel learned the art of polishing and cutting them in Egypt; for the Hebrews certainly at a period posterior to this possessed it, and had then held no intercourse with any people from whom they could have derived it so early as the time of their possessing it, but the Egyptians.

Purifying and working Metals—We have already seen on the monuments, Egyptians working in metals. "From all such articles" (says Rosellini) "it is manifest how *anciently* the art of casting and working metals was practised in Egypt." He adds: "The greater part of Egyptian metallic articles are

of bronze, not a few of gold, a smaller number of silver, very few of lead, and those made of iron are seldom found."

The gold of the sanctuary was ordered to be *pure* gold. The monuments show the process of purifying gold; and many of the ornaments still existing, are of the purest gold.

The boards of the tabernacle were to be *overlaid with gold.* "We find" (says Wilkinson) "that in Egypt substances of various kinds were overlaid with gold leaf." There are existing specimens as old as the time of the first Osirtasen.

The brazen laver was made of the *brazen mirrors* offered by the women. Had they such mirrors? Wilkinson says, the mirror was one of the principal articles of the toilet. "It was of mixed metal, chiefly copper, most carefully wrought and highly polished." Some have been discovered at Thebes in our own times; and though they had been buried in the earth for centuries, yet such was the skill employed in their composition, that their lustre has been partially revived by the workmen of our own day.

The golden candlestick was ornamented with *golden flowers.* Could they make them? The monuments repeatedly show them. Indeed such was Egyptian skill in this particular, that Pliny tells us there were artificial flowers which were known by the name of Egyptiæ. The tabernacle had a covering of *leather.* Could they make leather? The whole trade is depicted for us on the monuments. Indeed, it was an important branch of Egyptian industry. But, strange as it may seem, we have actual specimens of their leather The straps of a mummy found at Thebes are of the finest leather, and have beautiful figures stamped on them. At Paris there is an Egyptian harp, the wood of which is

covered with a green morocco, cut in the form of a lotus blossom.

Cloths of the Tabernacle and Priests' Garments.—The ephod of the high-priest was interwoven with *threads of gold.* Could they make gold thread? We find it as far back as Osirtasen the First.

Many passages in the Scripture speak of the twisted thread of the *byssus*, by which we may understand either flax or cotton; it matters not here which. Did they know how to spin it? The tombs of Beni Hassan show the whole process of its preparation from the beginning to its finishing as thread fit for weaving. Could they *weave* it? The cloths on the oldest mummies answer the question. In all antiquity their cloths were renowned. The ancients attribute to them the invention of the art. We have handled cloth, yet strong, that was woven in Egypt, as we believe, nearly 3500 years ago.

Weaving was performed by *men* generally, while spinning was performed by the women. Herodotus mentions it as one of the national peculiarities which struck him, that the women were engaged in the outdoor work, while the men were within, weaving. On the monuments we frequently see men thus employed: it is true we sometimes see also women, yet they rather form exceptions to the common practice. In conformity with this, the preparation of the cloth for the sanctuary, and of the robes for the priesthood, is represented in our history as being confided to men.

Again: the cloths used by the Israelites required skill, both in dyeing and embroidering. Had they such skill? Minutoli tells us, that "from many experiments upon the ancient Egyptian cloth, it appears that the byssus was colored

in the wool before weaving." Wilkinson states the same thing. Such too was the plan pursued by the Hebrews, as we learn from our history. As to embroidering, the evidence of its skilful execution by the Egyptians is unquestionable. The paintings at Thebes, according to Wilkinson, furnish the proof. A very common embroidered device was the phœnix, another was the lotus flower. Some are of the date of Rameses III.

Again: the *shape* of some of the garments of the high-priest affords us incidental proof. They were copied from garments in use in Egypt. The dresses, as well as the ceremonies of the Egyptian priesthood, are profusely delineated in the sculptured and pictured monuments; and it is impossible attentively to study those of the Hebrews, and not find the origin of some of them on the banks of the Nile. True, their use was associated with a worship very far removed from the gross idolatry of Egypt, but their mere fashion was often the same, and was probably selected because it was familiar to the eyes of the Hebrews while dwellers in the land of bondage. In fact, the whole Hebrew ritual appears to have been framed on the principle of embodying Egyptian ceremonies, carefully guarded, modified and expurgated, and applying them to the worship of the true God. We are aware that, in the opinion of some excellent men, this seems to detract from the Jewish ritual, as being but a modification of idolatry. We are unable to see this. It was a modification of idolatrous *ceremonies*, but it involved no recognition of idolatrous *worship*. It acknowledged no false god; on the contrary, it was so changed as to make the ceremonies retained, appropriate only in the worship of the true God. As well might it be said that retaining, as we do at this day, the heathen names

of the days of the week, proves that he who says "Thursday" is an idolatrous worshipper of the northern Thor. Beside, some of the very ceremonies of worship used now in the Christian Church are undoubted modifications of usages that were once known in heathen worship. Does that make idolaters of the Christians who in their use apply them to the expression of honor and reverence for the one only and true God? Again: are there no modifications now in the Christian Church of Jewish usages? Does that prove Christians to be Jews? The fact, is that as ceremonies in the expression of religious feeling are necessarily arbitrary, the ceremony means nothing but what in the view of the worshipper it was meant to symbolize; and it is really of no importance whence the ceremony was originally derived. The only point worth a thought is, what does it here mean?

The resemblances between the ritual of the Hebrews and the ceremonies of the Egyptians, are much too numerous to be deemed accidental. This meets us as a *fact*. We cannot evade or deny it. We wish not to do so; for in these very resemblances we find important testimony to the truth; nor can we possibly perceive how their existence in the slightest degree affects the question of the reverence due to the ritual of Israel, as being appointed of God for the outward expression of devotional feeling, properly directed to Jehovah. Our limits permit us to do no more than to point out generally some of these resemblances.

The Hebrew priests ministered at the altar and in the holy place, with covered heads and naked feet. So did the priests of Egypt.

They were required to be scrupulously clean, bathing daily before they commenced their ministrations. Such was the rule also in Egypt.

They, in ordinary life, dressed like the rest of their countrymen of good condition: when they ministered, they wore a peculiar and appropriate dress. This was also the case in Egypt. And here it should be remarked that the attentive student will find, that while the *custom* of Egypt was followed, it actually was made subservient to an exclusion and condemnation of the *idolatry* of Egypt; for in the priestly robes of the Jews, every thing was purposely excluded that was *idolatrously* symbolical; and in compelling him to wear that dress, and that only, he and all the congregation were alike reminded of the difference between it and the Egyptian corresponding garment, in the absence of every idolatrous symbol. Until God gave the Hebrews a ritual and established their worship, they knew no other forms than those of Egypt. These were imposing and splendid, calculated to operate powerfully on the imaginations of the Hebrews. Left to themselves, in the establishment of their ritual, they would undoubtedly have followed the Egyptian model to which they long showed a tendency, hard to be overcome. This tendency was met and limited and guided, by the adaptation of their ritual, as far as was useful or practicable, or consistent with God's purposes, to the notions which they had imbibed. It was the act of a kind parent, dealing with the weakness of his children. All of the world, with which they were acquainted, presented pompous ceremonials in religion. Had they been confined to an austere, simple system of worship, under such circumstances, it is plain that they would much more easily have been drawn into the very idolatry from which God would kindly guard them, by overruling the operation of perfectly natural causes. The ceremonies were a *necessity*, adapted to their weakness. And, to a limited

extent, ceremonies are a necessity now; for man cannot worship God decently and reverently without some outward ceremony. It may, and should be, made expressive and significant; but to carry it to the excess of gorgeous display or multiplied forms, would seem to be going back to a period when men in their weakness required such things. Under the light of the Gospel, it is not difficult in this matter to attain to a medium that is reasonable, appropriate and significant. But to proceed with our resemblances.

All the priestly garments were to be of *linen*. This was exactly the Egyptian practice.

The priests wore the *ephod*. From the best accounts we can get of this dress, it was similar in shape to one worn by Egyptian priests of the highest rank when they discharged their most solemn functions.

There was a rich embroidered girdle worn by the priests, with the ephod. The same was the case in Egypt.

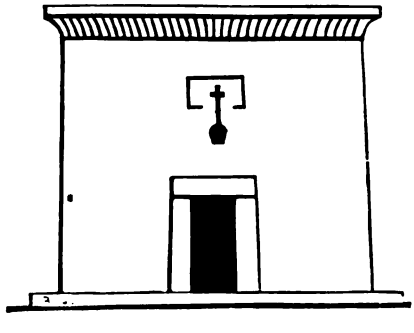
The breastplate was another part of the priest's official dress. It bore twelve jewels, on each of which was engraved the name of one of the tribes. This, while it adopted an Egyptian custom, corrected Egyptian idolatry; for on the breastplate of the Egyptian priests, was worn an idolatrous symbol; most commonly the winged scarabæus, the emblem of the sun.

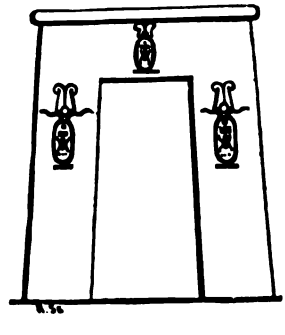
The *Urim* and the *Thummim*. In the Septuagint *δήλωσις καὶ ἀλήθεια*. Here is evidence of Egyptian connection. The words mean *light* and *truth*, or *justice;* and they were used to indicate the breastplate which Aaron wore at certain times, on occasions connected with giving judgments. Wilkinson thus writes: "When a case was brought for trial, it was customary for the arch judge to put a golden chain

around his neck, to which was suspended a small figure of Truth, ornamented with precious stones. This was in fact a representation of the goddess who was worshipped under the double character of truth and justice, and whose name Thmei (the Egyptian or Coptic name of justice or truth; hence the θέμις of the Greeks) appears to have been the origin of the Hebrew *Thummim*, a word implying truth."

Ælian informs us, that the high priest among the Egyptians wore around his neck an image of sapphire, which was called *Truth*. Diodorus says the same thing. Wilkinson gives an engraving of the goddess, with closed eyes, as symbolical of impartiality.

We proceed still further briefly to trace resemblances in some of the usages of the Hebrews and those of Egypt. To indicate a few of these only is all that our space permits, and all that is required for our purpose of establishing that intimate relationship which must have existed between the Hebrews and the Egyptians, to afford any satisfactory explanation of the correspondence between them, certainly remarkable, in modes of feeling and habits of life. The history of this intimate relationship is written *nowhere* but in the Bible. All, therefore,





tending to establish it as a *fact*, tends to establish the truth of the Bible, at least in that particular. We remark, then, that the Egyptians were accustomed to put inscriptions on their houses, both inside and out.

From this circumstance the Jews were prepared for the command which bade them write the words of their law upon their door-posts and their gates.

When they made the ark, the size of it was particularly given. It is precisely the size of an ark carried after the statue of the god Chem, in a painting of the time of Rameses III.

The mode in which the Egyptians carried an ark or shrine in their processions is delineated often on the monuments. It is precisely the mode adopted by the Hebrews.

But, further, the very customs which were *forbidden* to the Hebrews seem to confirm their intimate relation with Egypt, for they are all ancient customs on the Nile. God's purpose, we are told, was to preserve, by means of the Jews, the great truth, that there was one God the creator of the world. Moses, therefore, did not hesitate to proclaim that the gods of Egypt were false, and to forbid all worship of them. Thus the Egyptians worshipped the sun, moon and stars: among the Jews, whoever worshipped any one of the heavenly host was to be stoned to death.

The Egyptians worshipped statues of men, beasts, birds, and fishes: the Jews were forbidden to bow before any carved image.

The people of Lower Egypt marked their bodies with wounds in honor of their gods: the Jews were forbidden thus to cut their flesh or make any mark upon it.

The Egyptians buried food in the tombs with their friends: the Jews were forbidden to set apart any fruit for the dead.

The Egyptians planted groves of trees within the courtyards of their temples: Moses forbade the Jews to plant any trees near the altar of the Lord.

Who can doubt that the very nature of these prohibitions indicates that they were specifically directed against Egyptian usages? If they were, the prohibition furnishes evidence of the intimate relation recorded in the Bible between the Hebrews and Israel.

We have now finished what we have here to say of Egypt's evidences to the Pentateuch. We have, we are well aware, done but little more than furnish a few items, and those of a general nature, of the mass of testimony which might easily be adduced. We are not without the hope, however, that enough has been presented to show that the boast is premature which proclaims that Egyptian discoveries have proved the Bible to be false. The geology and chronology which are established (as it is said) by the soil and monuments of Egypt, are the strong grounds on which those rely who would condemn the Scriptures: but, to our minds, we are free to confess, were both these grounds much stronger than they are, the conclusion would be most unphilosophic that the sacred history is untrue. For what are the facts? We have shown a great many particulars in which undeniably, the testimony afforded by Egypt to our narrative, is too marked to be accidental. Hundreds of circumstances, some of them singly of small importance, and all casually introduced, without being intended as evidence when they were penned, are found on being brought together, to harmonize in a wonderful manner with the story which (as far as that story has been interpreted or understood) Egypt is

telling of herself. Under such circumstances, what says the enlightened and truly philosophic mind? Certainly this: that even granting, in the present imperfect condition of science, there may be much in the geology of Egypt which indicates an extreme age, and presents a seeming difficulty in reconciling that age with received opinions as to the *date* of events; granting that the chronology, supposed to be gathered from cartouches interpreted by the guidance of a supposed Egyptian historian, whose very existence even is to some of the learned doubtful; granting that such chronology may not appear to synchronize with any received system of Scripture chronology; yet there is so much plain and palpable in Egypt that, in the shape of undoubted facts, does rise up to support the Bible story; so much of the Book is thus *proved to be true;* that real science will pause ere it tob hastily concludes to reject, as entirely false, a witness clearly sustained in part, and that an important part; and will modestly conclude, that when more is fully known that science may *possibly* hereafter reveal, it will be found, that as the Bible and science are alike from God, they will prove, *when investigation is finished,* to be in entire harmony.

The Bible, so far as the testimony of Egypt is concerned, has established a claim that is undoubtedly to be, *in part* at least, believed. Let her then have credit for that part, and let it create the reasonable presumption that *all* she says, if properly understood, will be found true; let her have the benefit of this at least, until the science of man, now confessedly imperfect, shall have produced from Egypt what the Bible has, viz., equally *undoubted evidence:* it certainly *has not yet done it,* in contradiction of the Bible.

And now, in concluding this part of our subject, we think

we may say thus much at least has been proved,—the Pentateuch, or that part of it relating to the Israelites in Egypt, must have been written by some one made most accurately familiar, by personal observation and knowledge, with the topography, the natural phenomena, the trades, the domestic usages, the habits of the court, the religion, and the laws of Egypt. We think that the knowledge of the writer on these points could not have been collected at second-hand: it is much too minute and accurate to justify such an opinion. He must have lived in Egypt, and lived there long enough to have been on some subjects, not generally studied there, thoroughly instructed. No advantages necessary for a complete understanding of the mythology, worship, and laws of Egypt, could have been wanting. He must have been one "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."

Who was he? It is obvious that we of the present day can give no answer to that question from any modern evidence. All we can do is to look back for evidence contemporaneous with the writer, if we can find such; to seek out, at all events, the earliest received opinions as to the authorship of the Pentateuch, to ascertain, if possible, the recorded existence in history of some man whose learning "in the wisdom of the Egyptians" was such as would have enabled him to write what we have been considering.

And, first, what say the books themselves? They bear direct testimony that Moses was their author.

Next: what says the universal and most ancient tradition? With one voice the testimony, both Jewish and Christian, has with unanimous consent declared the Pentateuch to be the work of Moses.

Third: when was the *first* doubt expressed as to their

authenticity, and the authorship of Moses? Not until the beginning of *the eleventh century of the Christian era:* when certainly no *new* testimony could be found, and when no pretence was made that any existed. The Gnostics, and other heretics, did indeed make some feeble question of their genuineness: but it was merely to get rid of the *divine* authority of the laws they contained. Their doubts died with their heresy.

Fourth: from the death of Moses to the termination of the Old Testament history, a whole nation deeply interested in the Pentateuch, considering themselves under a sacred obligation to respect and obey it, living through many centuries; produced, from time to time, many other historical books, in which they constantly referred to these books as the production of Moses; quoted them as such, and every allusion has its corresponding passage in the books, even as we at this day have them: and not a solitary discrepancy occurs in this long series of incidental and unbroken testimony, commencing, as it does, with Joshua, immediately after the death of Moses, and extending through a period of more than a thousand years.

The prophetical books of this same nation will show the same undeviating testimony both as to the existence and identity of the five books of Moses.

Finally: the absolute impossibility of imposition or mistake in this matter of authenticity and authorship will be obvious, when we come to consider that the whole fabric of the institutions, civil and religious, of a whole nation, and that no unimportant one, rests, and has always rested, solely on these books, ever since the death of their author.

Was Moses capable of writing them? Now it is a re-

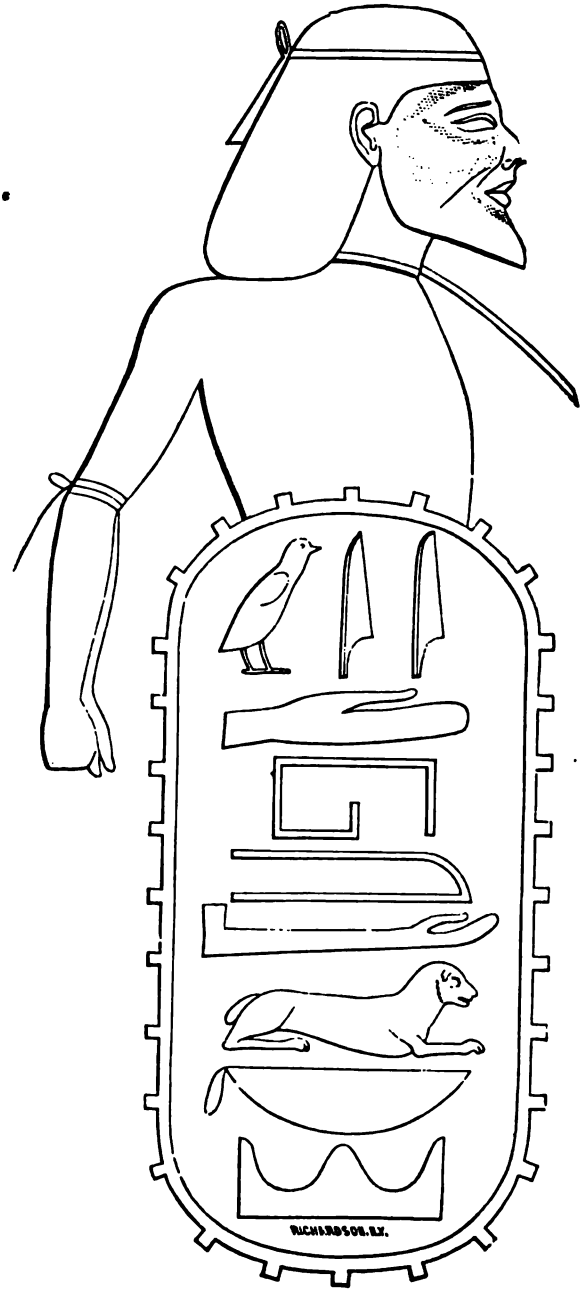
markable fact, that none of those who would fain overturn them if they could, and who have ventured, with a malice tempered more or less by a prudent regard for reputation, to hint their doubts, have ever ventured to bring forward *by name* any other author, with their *proof* in support of his claims. They never could find any other of whom authentic history recorded the indispensable fact, that he was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." We therefore conclude that Moses wrote them, and that the intimate knowledge of Egypt which they evince, is another to be added to the list of our incidental proofs.

CHAPTER X.

DIRECT MONUMENTAL CONFIRMATION OF SCRIPTURAL HISTORY.

Our task would be left incomplete, should we fail to bring before the reader evidence to be found on the monuments confirmatory of historical facts, not written in the Pentateuch, but in other parts of the Old Testament.

We must now come up to a period long posterior to the exode of the Israelites, even to the time when dissensions among the Hebrews had caused a division of the tribes into two parts, which were respectively governed by Jeroboam and Rehoboam. In the twelfth chapter of the second book of Chronicles, we have the history of the invasion of Shishak the king of Egypt. We find him marching against Jerusalem with chariots and horsemen, and people without number—the Lubims, the Sukiims, and the Ethiopians. The humiliation and penitence of Rehoboam under the warnings of Shemaiah the Prophet, averted from him the calamity of an entire loss of his kingdom; but while the Lord declared that he should not be utterly destroyed, he nevertheless added, that the people should be the servants of Shishak, (that is, should be made his prisoners.) Shishak came and took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the king's treasures—"he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took all;" and, in short, reduced the kingdom to the condition of a conquered province.

This Shishak is the Pharaoh Sesonchis of Manetho, and was the head of the twenty-second dynasty of kings, which originated at Bubastis, a very ancient city of Lower Egypt. It so happened (and it is a striking instance of the remarkable faculty possessed by Champollion le Jeune in prompt deciphering) that before the mixed commission of French and Italians that visited Egypt in 1828, Champollion, without then having ever seen Egypt, detected the cartouche of this Pharaoh in some of the engraved representations of Europe, and read it, "Beloved of Amon, SHESHONK." It was four years afterward before Champollion saw Egypt, "during which interval" (says Mr. Gliddon) "the name of Sheshonk and his captive nations had been examined times without number by other hieroglyphists, and the names of all the prisoners had been copied by them and published, without any one of them having noticed the extraordinary biblical corroboration thence to be deduced." On his passage up the Nile, Champollion landed for an hour or two, about sunset, to snatch a hasty view of the ruins of Karnac; and on entering one of the halls, he found a picture representing a triumph, in which he instantly pointed out in the third line of a row of *sixty-three prisoners*, (each indicating a city, nation, or tribe,) presented by Sheshonk to Amun-ra, the figure on the opposite page, and translated it, *Judah melek kah*, "king of the country of Judah."

The picture had been executed by order of Shishak, or Sheshonk, so that here was found the sculptured record of the invasion and conquest recorded in the "Chronicles." On the same picture were shields, containing in hieroglyphics the

names Beth-horon, Megiddo, Mahanaim, and some others, all towns through which Shishak passed on his invasion of Judea.

Champollion supposed that the figure of the captive was Rehoboam himself. We know not that this is so; some have doubted it, nor is it of any moment historically, because the cartouche equally represents the conquest of Judea by Shishak, whether the picture be that of the king, or one of his captive princes or subjects.

In other parts of the picture, the conquest of other places is represented without the introduction of the portrait of the subjugated monarch. It is worthy of notice, while on this subject, that in the museum of Dr. Abbot in Cairo, there is a rusty helmet and chain that were found at Thebes, and on some of the links of the latter may just be distinguished the same cartouche of Shishak that is represented in the painting.

But of the numerous captives that were once represented on that picture, why is it that now, but *three* remain? for such, we believe, is the fact. Those who defaced or removed some of them are known. They are Europeans, and profess to be scholars seeking for the truth. Is the suspicion well-founded that the mutilation is the work of those who deem it more honorable to be deemed scientific neologists, than it is to sustain Scriptural truth? We would fain hope that the destruction may have been accidental. Fortunately for truth, many copies of the picture had been made before its mutilation.

It is the more to be lamented that *this* picture has been defaced, because the sculptured memorials of the *Jews* in Egypt, as we have already intimated, were not likely to be very common. The Egyptians could not but be humbled by that portion of their history which connected them with the

Hebrews; they never, as we have stated, perpetuated their own shame in sculpture. Accident preserved a part of that history in the tomb of Roscherè, as we have seen: it is, therefore, the more to be regretted that this picture has been defaced.

The remaining direct testimony is but scanty. Pharaoh Necho and Pharaoh Hophra, both mentioned in Scripture, are proved to be real personages, as their cartouches are found on the monuments. The same may be said of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, mentioned in 2 Kings, xix. 9.

Indeed, so far as mere *names* are evidence, there is no want of them, both of places and persons. Osborn, in his Onomasticon, furnishes a long list. Thus no less than eighty-four Canaanitish names, mentioned in Scripture, occur at Aboo-simbal, Thebes, &c., written in the hieroglyphics. The mere repetition of these would, of course, afford to the general reader, little of interest or satisfaction.

And now, in conclusion, we would repeat a thought that was suggested in the commencement of our work. It is this: that the truth of the Bible is not dependent, in any degree, on our being able to produce evidence for its support from the monuments of Egypt. If that country had not a monument within it, it would not affect the genuineness and authenticity of the Old Testament. That it has such monuments, and that in modern times God in his providence has permitted us to see, that in many particulars they do illustrate and confirm our sacred writings, is cause for thankfulness; but such confirmation, it must be remembered, when found is purely incidental, and cannot, therefore, be expected to present to us a continued story of events, which would constitute in fact but another complete history of what is already written in the Bible.

It has been too much the fashion of a certain class of men,

infidel in principle, but claiming (and in some instances justly) to be scientific, dexterously to insinuate, rather than positively to assert, that Egypt was making to them wondrous revelations at the expense of the truth of Scripture. The characters and claims of these men have, perhaps, with a class, given weight to their insinuations, when there was neither the ability nor the means to test their boasted science, or sift their artful insinuations. It was for this class principally that the present writer assumed the pen. Purposely avoiding all perplexing questions of mere science, it occurred to him that it might be useful to plain Christians of honest hearts and common sense, if from the labors of men as good and as learned as the self-styled scientific, there should be gathered into one body and plainly presented, evidence from Egypt, intelligible to ordinary faculties, tending to show that the Bible found there *some* support at least; and that unhesitatingly to reject it, on the ground of any supposed discoveries yet made there, indicated a disease of the *heart* quite as much as a fault of the *head*.

If in this, his unambitious effort, he shall prove so far successful, as to quiet the apprehensions or confirm the faith of any fellow-Christian. however humble, he will be more than repaid for his labor.

FINIS.

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JOURNAL

OF A

VOYAGE UP THE NILE,

MADE BETWEEN THE MONTHS OF

NOVEMBER, 1848, AND APRIL, 1849.

———————His wandering step,
Obedient to high thoughts, has visited
The awful ruins of the days of old:
Athens, and Tyre, and Balbec, and the waste
Where stood Jerusalem, the fallen towers
Of Babylon, the eternal pyramids,
Memphis and Thebes, and whatsoe'er of strange
Scuptured on alabaster obelisk,
Or jasper tomb, or mutilated sphinx,
Dark Ethiopia on her desert hills
Conceals. Among the ruined temples there,
Stupendous columns, and wild images
Of more than man, where marble demons watch
The Zodiac's brazen mystery, and dead men
Hang their mute thoughts on the mute walls around,
He lingered, poring on memorials
Of the world's youth, through the long burning day
Gazed on those speechless shapes, nor, when the moon
Filled the mysterious halls with floating shades
Suspended he that task, but ever gazed
And gazed, till meaning on his vacant mind
Flashed like strong inspiration, and he saw
The thrilling secrets of the birth of time.

SHELLEY—*Alastor, or the Spirit of Solitude.*

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The author of the following sheets, on his return from Egypt, a few weeks ago, found the previous pages of this book passing through the press. In repeated friendly conversations with the compiler, with whose views upon Egypt his own closely harmonize, he was able to communicate some facts of interest to him; and at his request, was induced to make the following brief narrative of a few commonplace incidents from his notes of his voyage up the Nile, and to place it at his disposal. Part of it is a mere transcript of notes made at the localities of which they speak. Under such circumstances, the writer hardly need stop to say, that the production lays no claim to the character of a finished literary work, or even of a full journal of the incidents of his travels or the objects of interest he saw. That friend has published it under the impression that a description of localities, furnished by an individual just from the Nile, would perhaps serve to impress more forcibly on the memory of readers, the more important monuments to which he has had occasion to refer, by associating them with places described in the following pages.

A word of apology is perhaps necessary for the space devoted to the temples and tombs. General descriptions of such objects are commonly little more than lumber; it was not, however, possible entirely to avoid it, and perhaps this part of the narrative may furnish

a memorandum not altogether without its use to one about visiting Egypt.

Every candid student of Egyptian antiquities is aware, that too little is yet known to furnish a full proof of Scriptural chronology or history from the monuments alone; but the author is happy to add his humble testimony to the truth of the Bible, in the statement, that he has seen nothing in Egypt to shake his faith in that blessed volume: but, on the contrary, much to confirm it.

New-York, September, 1849.

STEAMER TO EGYPT FROM CONSTANTINOPLE.

NEVER was morning more beautiful than that in which we prepared to leave the harbor of the Golden Horn, at Constantinople. The thousand varied and beautiful views on all sides, from the "valley of sweet waters," and the mosque-crowned heights of Eyaub, to Galata's tower and the gardens of the Seraglio, left a series of pictures impressed on the memory which will long be a source of pleasure.

The Turkish passengers crowd on board, and the cabins are filled with the wives of the Grand Pacha, Fuchtar Effendi, of two tails, whom the Sultan has recently appointed Governor of Mecca. Finally, his Pacha friends crowd around in their boats to wish him adieu. With them are some European envoys, among whom is a Russian. What a group on this steamer's deck! The Pacha and his two attendants; gentlemen, with about forty servants; cawasses, eunuchs, &c.; Kurds, Tartars, with their shawled caps, Persians, Copts, Greeks, Armenians, Jews—in fact, all the specimens of Mohammedanism to be found in the Turkish Empire; and, save the engineer (an Englishman) I am the only Anglo-Saxon.

The Pacha's young and favorite wife, I have once seen distinctly. She is very beautiful. He is a man of noble presence, with the brow and features of a statesman and a

great man. Nobler never could have belonged to the Prophet himself. Some of the Pachas who rushed to bid him farewell bent to kiss his feet. Hark! the gun. The Sultan is in that steamboat, returning from the launch of a vessel of war. All along up the Bosphorus the ships of war are manned to their topmast yards, and the flags flying. I had recently witnessed a still more magnificent scene, where the Sultan embarked at his palace on the Bosphorus to go to mosque.

Hark! there is another gun. It is sunset, and the Moslems have all washed, and are kneeling in prayer, with their faces, as ever, turned toward Mecca. What religionists in the world observe the duties of their faith more praiseworthily than these? The old Pacha, too, so devout! He prays as if it were praying that had given that noble dignity to his face.

It is over, and now we are under way. Farewell to Pera, and all its varied and picturesque population, romantic environs and its Armenian girls. Farewell to Galata, and its miserable streets of Greek fishermen, where I have so often lost my way amidst the throng of traders from every clime; where the cannie Scotchman from Greenock strikes bargains with the Persian of the Caucasus. Farewell to the beautiful Bosphorus and the distant Symplegades, whose blue forms it must suffice to see afar off, without running Jason's risk. Farewell to the gorgeous Sultan's palace; Bebek and its lovely bay, the castle of Venetian splendor; Therapia, and its Greek maidens; Buyukdere, and its beauties; and the Asiatic shore! the "sweet waters," the beautiful valley, and the Sultan's lovely, dark-eyed Circassians! Farewell to Scutari, and the old cypresses of the cemeteries, and Stamboul, that strange compound, so grand at a distance, so filthy within. In its old

Seraglio, I would fain yet linger amid the crumbling capitals built by the Greek Emperors, and the chambers filled with the Caliph's works; the libraries of rare books, the portraits of the Sultans—every one of whom rose by the murder of some father or brother; the beds glittering with gems in the dark old Saracenic chambers, where many a Sultan has been strangled; the halls, where the tyrant would only show himself through a steel grating. Farewell to all these: we are now for the land of Egypt to study its lore, as did the Grecian scholars of old, when they left the cool shades of the Academy for the priestly colleges of Sais and Heliopolis. Will it make us Christian, like Alciphron, or unbelieving, like the infidels of France?

VOYAGE UP THE NILE.

THE Nile has become nearly as much travelled by Americans as the Rhine; it requires but a moderate income to jump to Athens, Cairo, Jerusalem; many an American flag meets the traveller beneath Luxor's old temple; hundreds of New-York and Boston names, and those of every city in our States, greet his eye in the tombs of the Remeses, and throughout the mighty wrecks of Thebes. Several go to the Nile as they go up the Clyde or Hudson, to see a change of manner, primitive enjoyments, and to enjoy a dry, pure air, and the sweetest of water. And yet, notwithstanding burlesque travels, and "Punch on the Pyramids," there are those to be found, who still regard Egypt with the mysterious awe of their earlier days, and in her monuments find the most *material* evidence in existence of the truth of divine revelation;—who turn from the unsatisfactory juggleries and traditions of the Holy Land, to the chiselled and painted memorials of the Pharaohs' artists, which give us now the authentic records of early Egyptian dynasties, in almost the same condition as when Diodorus saw them two thousand years ago.

By one of those extraordinary artifices which creates excitement by manufacturing opinion, it has been fashionable with a certain class to slight the continued, palpable evidence deduced from the monuments and deciphered language of

Egypt in favor of Scripture, until the great science of "Egyptology" has been made—in the hands of ingenious philologists, accomplished German infidels, crafty French sophists, decayed Italian scholars, and popular appealers to the spirit of infidelity, which always *is* alive—to attack the received opinions of the Christian church upon Scripture history and chronology.

I have been to Egypt, partly to gratify the confirmation of a faith instilled in childhood, and inculcated by teachings of accomplished scholars. Accident threw in my way, in a tour in Italy three years since, works upon the records of Egypt and theology, which, by the skilful management of the hieroglyphical records, had the effect to darken for a time my Christian faith, and to suggest doubts and conjectures rather than confidence in the Scripture records.

Perhaps a future volume may give me the opportunity of showing more fully than can be done here, what is the true character of those works; and, I may also relate my own convictions after a pretty thorough examination of the whole subject.

Before undertaking this visit to Egypt, I had enjoyed the advantage of consulting the most important works relating to that country, in the principal public libraries of Europe—including the British Museum, and the Royal libraries at Paris, Vienna, and Berlin; and I had studied the Egyptian remains in the chief Museums. The privilege of some acquaintance with several of the learned archæologists and oriental scholars of Europe, had been of essential service in enabling me to prepare for this voyage. Unambitious of fame, I had nothing to lose; nothing to gain but truth.

In the works, the names of which the lectures of Gliddon have brought to notice in America, there was much to ques-

tion. The "monumenti" of Rosellini and Champollion are filled with evidences of Scripture fulfilment and Scriptural illustration. The philologists of Germany and Paris have found their own refutation in the pages of the Berlin theologists. Some are too absurd, too malicious against Scripture, to be noticed, and are disavowed by moderate archæologists like Bunsen, who are by no means to be praised for their orthodoxy: and their sophistry, like that of Fourier and the French infidels on the Zodiacs of Dendera and Esne, so fully exposed in the work of Champollion—"Fourier and Napoleon"—soon satisfied me that *their* objections were null, and *their* study loss of time; philological ingenuities, ethnological resemblances were all their objections were founded on.

The volumes of Osborn, Hengstenberg, and Wilkinson furnish much that is conclusive in confirmation of the Bible; and after a careful study of these introductory works, perhaps no candid man would need further evidence, that the Egyptian monuments do really illustrate and verify the Scriptures. These books, with the great French and Italian works on the hieroglyphics, and the Egyptian grammar and dictionary, will enable me to commence the profitable study of the monuments themselves.

The eminent scholar Letronne, of Paris, although too Jesuitical and conservative, in an age when looseness and license of opinion was prevailing around him, has grouped much that is valuable of the evidence, from the Egyptian monuments, in favor of Scripture truth. His death, lamented by all the archæologists of Europe, free-thinking as well as orthodox, has deprived the world of much that is rare as well as definite upon the subject. Part of this, and a summary of the materials that I have collected, will be given to the world

in a future and more elaborate work. When, upon a subject so vast, a scholar like Letronne hesitates to group his evidence until he can put upon it the stamp of incontrovertibility and completeness, it may seem presumptuous in a novice not to hesitate also. The object of the present pages, however, is more introductory than full; a mere journal of objects as they presented themselves.

The purpose of the author in going to the Nile being fully understood, he will describe his voyage and visit to those interesting places, in which difficulty, of necessity, made his voyage adventurous, threw him upon all his fancy for interest, and made him catch enthusiasm from the high religious satisfaction, poetry from the genius of the place, and constant excitement from the noble antiquities of the "times when the world was young."

The Rhine, Switzerland, the Italian lakes, the Tyrol, French, German, Hungarian revolutions, added interest to his journey to the ancient land. He paused in Greece, gazed on Parnassus and the Parthenon, and galloped over Attica. He looked upon the Areopagus, for it was the Mars Hill from which Paul preached of the temples in which dwelt the Living God; upon Mount Ida and the Troad; upon the citadel at Smyrna—that one ruin of the seven churches of God, and where Polycarp poured out his blood for Christ; upon ancient Byzantium's wall, and modern Constantinople's beauties; followed the Bosphorus to the Symplegades; roamed with a solitary Greek boatman through the isles of the Ægean; gazed upon the isle where St. John wrote the awful Revelation; breathed the mild air of Rhodes, and followed art and nature with a dreamer's eye. But what was Lake Leman to the Lake Mareotis? what were all the rivers in the world when one sees the glorious Nile?

Arriving at Alexandria by the Turkish steamer, I was impatient to rush over the canal, and without waiting for a steamboat, I jumped into one of the most ordinary of the carrying boats, and arrived in two days at Atfeh; an Arab boy, who knew a little Italian, was my companion. What a delight to behold that broad glorious river; its rushing waters, its noble palm groves; the Libyan and Arabian mountains; the strange life in the Arab towns, and all the varied novelties of oriental life and scenery!

It was in the latter part of November, 1848, that, at Atfeh, I procured a traveller's boat of the agent of the Oriental Company, and began my voyage up the Nile. The rich loam of its banks told stories of its deposits, as the soundings in Alexandria's harbor did to Herodotus; and proofs of the exhaustions of Nubia's soil gave increased certainty to the correctness of Scriptural chronology. Geologists have ascertained for us some facts, but the claim of ten thousand years for the world's history of man finds, apparently, but doubtful support from the Delta of the Nile. Deltas have yet to tell their tale, and *Biblical Geology* is yet to be written.

I had some knowledge of the vulgar Arabic, which I had studied with the oriental advantages of Paris and Vienna, and in Marcel's *Dictionnaire* of the vulgar Arabic. The Arabic rudiments which I had acquired from Causin de Percival and De Sacy enabled me to traffic for my provisions, and order my dinner with ease; which, as I had no dragoman, was a matter of convenience. At the end of a short time I had

learned something of Nile boatmen and Egyptian life, had been satiated with the songs, "La Allah, l' Allah y' lilla," could understand some of their stories of Antar and Hybla, learned to admire their deep earnestness; and, on the whole, to think favorably of the Egyptian Arabs. The song for "Hawaga" [the traveller] when he sits down to table, the sleeping song, the watchfire on the bank when the boat pulls to the shore, the wild dance and the *sakia*, or rude drum, the perfect time of their tunes and chorus—all these were novelties.

It was the liveliest of Cairo donkeys, and the ugliest and smartest of donkey boys, that took me into Cairo. These donkey boys, like the *Gamins* of Paris and the newspaper boys, will tell you every thing. They enliven your rides to the site of Heliopolis, to the fountain and tree of the Holy Family at Mataryeh, to the Citadel of Saracenic and Mohammedan Egypt, telling on its ruined walls tales of Pharaoh Hophra,* Saladin, and Mohammed Ali. One must not pass over the new mosque at Cairo. Its interior architecture is of the finest Saracenic, and when completed, its exterior will be quite as imposing as that of our Capitol at Washington.

It was pleasant to amble through the groves of palm and acacia that abound in the rich, wild country north of Cairo, to that rare palace of orientalism at Shoubra of Mohammed Ali, whose gardens and kiosks and mosaics, are only rivalled by those of Granada. In these rides, I frequently met Mohammed Ali in his carriage, like a plain English gentleman, and he always saluted me with the uniform politeness that he has ever displayed towards Anglo-Saxons. He had recently lost his eldest son, the celebrated Ibrahim Pacha. We heard

* His cartouche is in the wall.

of his death at Rhodes; and all the Arabs to whom I had spoken of it, only replied with the flashing glance of pleasure, "Allah Akbar," God is great. The Turks uniformly seemed pleased at the accession of a pious, bigoted Mussulman like Abbas, as the Arabs were glad to be rid of the tyranny of Ibrahim. Abbas was on his way to Mecca. Mohammed Ali merely replied, on hearing of the death of Ibrahim, that it was sad a father should live to see the day that he could *not* regret the death of his own son. Nearly four months after this, Abbas Pacha returned from Constantinople, where he had been to visit the Sultan, on receiving the *hatti scheriff* investing him with the Pachalik; which was read soon after his accession, in the citadel.

On his visit to the Sultan, his Mussulman character gained him the title of Vizier (or *Mushir*, the highest, next the Sultan) and Pacha of Nubia; and his return, in February, was celebrated by illuminations throughout Cairo for three days. The English policy was much gratified by this, as they wished to reduce Egypt to a mere province, to weaken French influence there; and thus it has lost the progressive independence of government that Mohammed Ali had given it. The English consul-general, Hon. Charles Augustus Murray, has availed himself of the weakness of Abbas Pacha's habits and government, to gain free passage for armed English troops to India, and many other important advantages; while the Egyptian fleet transferred to the Sultan, and the strong measures of Admiral Parker against the aggression of Russia in the prohibited Bosphorus, has aided England's design of increasing the power of the Porte, and augmented, also, her own influence in Egypt. Whether the establishment of our own lately appointed consul-general there, Mr. Macauley, who,

from his long residence in Barbary, is fully acquainted with Turkish manners, language, and diplomacy, may lessen the encroachments of English influence, is a matter that belongs alone to diplomatists. Soon after his arrival there, in the United States frigate "Constitution," the assault of one of the Arab soldiers on the person of a passed midshipman, who commanded one of the boats' crews of men ashore, called for Mr. Macauley's interference, and he was prompt enough to treat the dissimulating procrastination of the government relative to the punishment of the soldier, with the threat that he would haul down his consular flag, if an answer were not given by sunrise. Such decision, and his course with the Bashaw of Tripoli, will doubtless make his representation of our country valuable.

I rode to Ghizeh, and over the plain to the pyramids. Dragged to the summit, like thousands of others, I stood on Cheops' pyramid, where Diodorus had once stood. I could not find the name of Herodotus; but that of my hotel-keeper was boldly chiselled, and so was "Day and Martin's blacking." An Arab offered to go up the Cephrenes pyramid for a shilling, then for a sixpence. I was awed before the Sphinx; for, mutilated as it is, there is something in that expression alike Caucasian and great. I read the records of the fourth dynasty in the chambers; and found Scripture proofs clear in the records of the tombs on the Libyan chain, stretching through the whole Necropolis to the Saccara and Dashoor pyramids, with its cut mummy-pits. All this, is it not written fully in the three huge volumes of Colonel Vyse?

And Memphis—that desolate plain! One can find interest here, although the temple of Vulcan, the site of which is spoken of by antiquarians as the square where, according to

Herodotus, the bull Apis was kept, is gone. But the great object of interest is the Acherusian lake, which gave to the Grecians and Romans the mythology which the latter cherished in Campania. Over this, in the sacred boats, so they fabled, the souls of the dead heroes were carried. The dark groves upon its banks, the jutting points, and the setting sun over the shades, made it peculiarly picturesque. I had been over the scene of the mythologies of the Æneid from the grotto of the Sibyl to the Lake Avernus and Elysian Fields, and had explored Greece. How pleasant to trace here the source of these superstitions!

As for the statue of Remeses the Great, and his son and daughter, I have seen the copy in the British Museum, and it is far more impressive than the original here lying in the mud.

The site of Memphis has received its best consideration in the pages of Mr. St. John, Dr. Richardson, Conder, and Shaw —and the confusion on the subject is well accounted for by Gibbon, on the supposition that it extended numbers of miles. But how unsatisfactory the exploration from Ghizeh to Mitraheny! The fallen colossal statue alone, which is so perfectly revived in the cast in the British Museum, is all. And yet how much is here! Was it not the first founded city by the immediate descendants of Noah? That it was the oldest, the decay of its monuments attest, while Thebes remains. Allowing even the superiority of the climate of the Said for the preservation of temples and sculptures, how could the granite of Syene have disappeared so entirely were it not a ruined city, after the decay of the latter Pharaonic dynasty? How full of deep interest is this spot! The scene of the Mosaico-Egyptian history, the site of a city that, from

the rule of Menes over this locality to that of Abbas Pacha, has seen a greater number of successions, preserved a greater permanence of locality for civilization, than any spot in the world. Rome and Athens are but of yesterday in comparison with Memphis. When I stood on the tomb of Cecrops in the Acropolis, I was awed by the antiquity of the pioneer of Egyptian emigration to Greece; it was from Memphis that he went forth. Jerusalem was founded earlier still. Babylon, its nearer contemporary, is a howling desert: and Nineveh furnishes few wrecks of Assyrian sway; but old Memphis is here. Standing on the roof of your sojourning house in the place, Esbekiah, you may turn from glittering Turkish-Arab-Jewish-Coptic-Cairo of to-day, to the Citadel, and bring up the Mameluke-Turcoman-Saracen-Caliph-governing-Cairo of yesterday; live over the histories of Masr-el-Atikeh and Masr-el-Kebyr,—new Cairo and old Cairo;—turn to the tombs of the Caliphs, and the thousand mosques and monuments of that era; and then to the Coptic churches, and the memorials of Christian patriarchal sway in the distance; and then a little north your eyes wander upon Rhoda island and the shores, whose musical palaces of Beys are the sites of the palaces of the Pharaohs of Jewish memory; and then wandering to the pyramids, the sphinxes, the caves, and tombs on the Libyan mountain ridge, with names of kings and records of Egypt to her fourth dynasty; and a little further rest on the plains and mounds, which need yet the labors of a Belzoni or a Vyse—where Menes and Misraim subjects gained the first wealth of this fertile valley of the generous Nile.

Many flatter themselves that Egypt is yet to be more fully unveiled, that there are evidences in the mounds and passages under Memphis which will bring to light more truth. There

were those too who believed that deep under yon pyramid of Ghizeh lay concealed the table of emerald on which the thrice great Hermes engraved the secret of alchemy, which was lost before the flood; and that Egypt, through the whole valley of the Nile, was traversed by a subterranean realm, which kings who had that art which gave gold at will, used for their purposes.

Devoting a little time to investigations of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, at Heliopolis; arriving at the conclusions of Hengstenberg; and glancing at the subject of Pithom, the Patumos of Herodotus, which I did without visiting the interesting site of Sais, where Herodotus and Plato found so much, or the modern towns of Mansoura, the rice granaries of Damietta, and rich fertility of the Delta, with its peculiar Levantine characteristics, from Rosetta to Damietta; and having spent some investigation on the fine papyri of Dr. Abbot's museum and literary association, where I enjoyed the advantage of acquaintance with one of the best Coptic scholars living; and having gained much aid from the library of the Egyptian Association, (which, by the beneficence of English noblemen, has become a mine of treasure, under the superintendence of Dr. Lieder, containing all published on the subject, as well as all European facilities,) I engaged my boat, made a contract, employed a dragoman, and prepared for my voyage to the temples of the Nile. My boat was small, its cabin only sufficient for one; but being recommended for speed by an English gentleman, who had just returned from the first cataract in it, I was well satisfied.

Coming down from a visit to the citadel, I was told a fine lion from Dongola was shown here, belonging to Mohammed Ali, and I stopped to take a look at his majesty. We went

up a few steps, and entered a room, where stood chained, with his bushy mane, an enormous red lion. There was no grate, as at the Surrey or Regent Park gardens, to impede our view, and I did not feel particularly pleasant to be in the same room with a lion just fresh from the deserts of Dongola, with only a few iron links to prevent him from making his breakfast of his visitors; but imagine my terror when the keeper, after having displayed some feats of animal taming that far excelled Van Amburgh, left him, and while I was gazing into his eyes, he rose and made a leap, snapping one end of his chain. I was near the door, and in an instant I was out, and the keeper against the door, which his attendants without secured, while he was standing up and pointing to the corner for the lion to go back to his chain. I was fairly frightened, and rushed down the steps leading into the street, glad enough to escape.

I went from here to see the bastinado. I found there an imperturbable Englishman from our hotel, who was always there, I believe. He had invited me frequently to go up with him and see one, as, he said, it gave him an appetite for his dinner. For my part, it was disgusting to me. The *kourbash* is very painful for the first two or three blows, but after, it is scarcely felt, in comparison. The Mohammedan who takes his bath so frequently, and has the soles of his feet made so tender by the rubbing, must be peculiarly sensitive there.

The Ghourah bazaar and its rare attractions have been well descanted on by travellers; though not excelling in richness the shawl bazaar of Constantinople, and some others there, it is fuller of various life. Every nation in the world, almost, is represented here: Turks, Syrians, Kurds, Hindoos, Ethiopians, Abyssinians, Circassians; and Turkish and Ara-

bian women, less veiled than those in Constantinople. The perfumery bazaar, with its quaint orientalism; the carpet and mat bazaar, with its Turks bearded like Abraham; the Hamzaja bazaar; the handkerchief and embroidery bazaar; the bazaar of arms; the Hanhalil; the Settizenab, and its Bedouins of the desert caravans; the Bab-el-Nasr, and ancient gate of the vanquishers of the Crusaders; the Ghu-a-hinneh; the palaces of the old Beys, and rare Turkish life in the old quarter: all this is well described in Mr. Lane's Book of the Modern Egyptians, and you may see it recorded and pictured in his fine edition of the Illustrated Arabian Nights. Mr. Lane is one of the foreign lions of Cairo, but keeps himself very secluded, being industriously engaged on a large Arabic dictionary—a great desideratum to oriental scholars. He lives with his sister, Mrs. Poole, author of "The Englishwoman in Egypt;" whose son has been well praised by Miss Martineau, as, for a young Egyptian hieroglyphical scholar, he is almost unexcelled.

The days of chivalry, as D'Israeli makes Baron Rothschild say, were not different from ours. "Life then was a circle of great ideas; now 'tis a circle of small ones." Instead of Richard Cœur de Lion and Saladin, it is a Consul General and a brutal Abbas Pacha. Instead of a noble Arab, as Scott has represented in his Talisman, it is a quarrelsome Reis and his quarrelsome crew; a swindling dragoman trying to pocket your piastres, and suiting all his plans and purposes to that end. As to what modern Egyptian life is, I cannot improve upon Mr. Lane's description of the "Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians," and the notes that are scattered through his edition of the "Arabian Nights;" and it is superfluous to repeat in this brief and rapid sketch what others

have spent more than a quarter of a century in describing. A half day's walk through Cairo sufficed to prove the remarkable accuracy of Lane's work.

My first week in Cairo was actively employed in sight seeing, and whirling around its narrow streets, with a donkey boy crying, *Riglac oh bente*—"get out of the way, oh lady;" or *Riglac nousrami*, "get out of the way, Christian;"—*Riglac baudour*, "get out of the way, you other donkey-boy."

There is no lack of amusement in all these oddities; and as for the sights, from the Mohammedan betrothal and wedding, with all its grotesque masquerading, and symbols, and Alme's dancing, *et id genus*, to the *circumcision* with its drums, &c., the pure orientalism of the turban—the black turban of the Copt and his huge sensual neck, the bright eyes of an Arab from the shores

> "Off Mozambic or where the spicy odors blow,
> From Araby the blest,"

how shall I describe them? There too was the Memlook dress, and its owner glittering with arms and proudly ferocious in gait; the flaming Cairean robes of striped silk adorning the Turk or the Jew; the Egyptian lady with her mantle of black silk, which is also worn by many Italians and French.

Camels loaded with stones come along threatening to crush you and your donkey; water-carriers, beggars, santons; Turks sitting in their bazaars, crying, *Thayeeb Mashallah;* Greeks looking for a chance to turn a penny or to blackguard you: Arabs of every variety, from the Hadji of Mecca, the sheikh of the desert, to the boatman and camel-driver; *ukmah* or sellers of sherbet, serpent charmers with their snakes, orange women, and other women with their caps or wares; beggars,

barbers, pedlers of robes from Damascus, fortune-tellers, jugglers, mountebanks, fakirs, merchants and mollahs, Mohammedan priests, barbers and butchers, saddlers and slipper-makers, in the narrow dingy streets—there are they all.

Dr. Abbot's Museum.—This is one of the great curiosities of Cairo. Lepsius has said that the museum is worth £7000. His price is £10,000.

Among the many objects of interest is the necklace bearing on several of the links the cartouche of Menes of the first dynasty, "who walks with Amon," a seal ring of gold, with a broad face, on which in most exquisite engraving is the cartouche of Souphis or Cheops of the fourth dynasty. An iron breastplate and chain, much covered with rust, has the name of *Shishak* or Sheshonk, who vanquished Jeroboam. Some of his curiosities, a lizard in metal, and some sculptures in limestone, are the most beautiful I have ever seen. His mummied bulls and human mummies, his rings and thousand cartouches, are antiquities of several dynasties. His mummied cats, and particularly his papyri, are very perfect. There is one containing a ritual, which is very valuable. Numerous *steles* or tablets of the times of the shepherd kings, &c., are full of historical interest.

The Egyptian Literary Association, of which Dr. Abbot is one of the founders, and Clot Bey, Suleiman Pacha, and several learned Europeans, members, is one of the finest institutions in the world for the study of Egyptian subjects.

The tombs of the Memlook kings to the south of old Cairo and toward the Arabian desert in the east, are an interesting necropolis. Familiar as I was with Mohammedan cemeteries in Constantinople, Scutari and Pera, the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, I could not but compare the beauty of those upon

which "Anastasius" so poetically dwells, with this forest of turbaned-headed tombstones in the skirts of the lonely desert. Here are the interesting tombs of the Memlook kings in a walled court, covered with flowered ornaments of brilliant colors and Arabic inscriptions. But the finest specimens of arabesque I saw in the tombs of the Pachas: those of Mohammed Ali's family, his wives and sons, particularly that of the lamented and promising Tousson, so spoken of by travellers, were the finest. It is a beautiful thought of orientalism, to place perpetual flowers on the dwellings of the dead. Here was the tomb of *Ibrahim* covered with a green shroud, for it was not yet completed. Some of the family were here, and many real flowers lay scattered about, and wreaths on the head-stones. What a prolific progenitor Mohammed Ali* has been! he may well vie with Methusaleh, and the other patriarchs, or with Solomon. A large mosque is filled with the tombs of his family, and I should judge that thirty were those of his sons and daughters, his sons' wives, and grandsons and granddaughters.

The Imaum-e-Shuffer is worth visiting.

I also went to the site of the Roman Babylon, which was not far from old Cairo.

The mosque of Tayloom is one of the finest erections of Caliph and Mameluke architecture. I rode my donkey into it, which quite shocked the Mohammedan bystanders.

Spur on my donkey—my Arab boy—to Mataryeh and the sacred tree and fountain of the Holy Family, and then over

* While correcting the proofs of this work, the intelligence reaches us that this great reformer of Egypt—great alike in his usefulness, his ambition, and his crimes—is dead. Even the shadow of his name will no longer save Egypt from England or the Porte.

the plain to the orange groves, where stand the site and obelisk of Heliopolis. The City of the Sun, or of Destruction, as the prophet Isaiah calls it, is one of the five cities in the land of Egypt that "should speak the language of Canaan, and swear by the Lord of hosts." It can boast of no ruin, but a solitary obelisk in the midst of a garden marks the spot where stood the famed city, On, and its temple of the Sun. Here Joseph found in the daughter of its high priest, a wife; and here, perhaps, Moses studied the ancient lore. The prophecy of Isaiah* was fulfilled here; for Onias, the high priest, in the time of the Maccabees, built a temple that was much resorted to by the Jews. The obelisk bears the name of Osirtasen, the king who (as some believe) expelled the shepherd kings from Egypt. Several of the obelisks have been carried away. Those which are at Alexandria are said to have stood here. True, you may see in the British Museum a cast of the obelisk, and read its characters; but do you stand in On, and in the place where Moses was schooled, among the shades where Plato and his companions walked in the orange groves—where Diodorus, and Herodotus, and Anaxagoras, and Solon, (the thrifty olive-merchant of Greece,) came to learn mysteries and the secret of eternal life, which the priests of Phre—the Poti-phres, or Potiphars, were suposed to have taught? A part of the inscription on the obelisk is as follows, when translated into English, beginning to read from the south side:—

Verse first. "The Sun to King Ramestes. I have bestowed upon you to rule graciously the world. He whom the Sun loves is Horus the Brave, the lover of truth, the son of Heaven, born of God, restorer of the world. He whom the Sun has chosen is King Ramestes, valiant in battle, to whom

* Chap. xix. vers. 18, 19.

all the earth is subject by his might and bravery. Ramestes the king, the immortal offspring of the Sun."

Verse second. "Horus .... the brave, who sheds a splendor over Heliopolis, and regenerates the rest of the world, and honors the gods, who live in Heliopolis, him the Sun loves."

Verse third. "Horus the brave, the offspring of the Sun, all glorious, whom the Sun loves," &c.

Another verse. "He beautified Heliopolis."

To the east. Verse first. "The great god from Heliopolis. Celestial Horus, the brave .... Him Ammon loves..... And him the all glittering has chosen for his eternal king." . . .

This is sufficient to identify the site, for which purpose they are quoted.

Rhoda island is one of the charms of Cairo. Its roses make it the resort that its gardens have ever been since the Romans or the Greeks, and probably Pharaohs. The gay Caireans crowd here on Friday; and its roses are as thick and luxuriant as when the Greeks named it *Ρωδος*. When I came here, Ibrahim Pacha had just died, and his fine palace, to which it is the garden, was being stripped. Its orange groves, fountains and walks; its kiosk of shells; its Nilometer on the south end, where Moses was said to have been found: the view from the walled walk, of the luxuriant valley, and the rank sedgy banks, make you encourage in fancy the thought, that here the Pharaohs chose what must have been the most enchanting spot for their palaces. Here Amense the princess, "daughter of Pharaoh," walking on banks where you still see bulrushes, found the hero-infant—the future lawgiver of God—who, in youth and early manhood, (as it is said,) repaid the debt by teaching her the true God, and for which, in turn, she obtained for him those exclusive privileges

from the priests, of their instructing him in "all the wisdom of the Egyptians," and, had he desired it, would have made him the successor to the throne: virtues which her successor, Mœris, in jealousy of Moses, repaid by blotting her name from, and defacing the monuments.

In the evening, I rambled among the palaces of the Beys and Pachas, and the colleges and military schools of the young Osmanleys. I listened to the notes from piano, harp, and timbrel, which are to be heard through the closed, latticed windows of the harem, where are Circassian beauties, and all the richness of oriental luxury, safely concealed from the profane eye of the "unbeliever."

The sun was setting over the distant pyramids in the exquisite beauty and glow of an Egyptian sky, and the cymbals of the Turkish garrison were ringing in my ears, while I did full justice to the dinner provided by Beckra, my Syrian cook from Damascus; and in anticipation dwelt with delight upon all that I was to see in the six hundred miles of beauty and antiquity before me.

I hoisted the American flag, took leave of kind friends who came down to see me off, and established myself comfortably in the cabin, armed with pistols, books, and a mosquito-net. The crew began their happy song, beating the sakia or *earthen drum*, clapping their hands in accompaniment, and chanting a low song, increasing in energy and motion till they danced. We passed the Halil palace, (from whose windows came soft music and singing, which I knew was of a Circassian voice,)—and the Nilometer. The Arabs sang me to a refreshing sleep. The first two days went on finely. After we had left the pyramids of Abousir, the *false* pyramid was the first ruin of interest, and the pyramids of Howara and Illaloon, a journey

to which St. John has well described. When a head wind kept us to the bank, I went ashore to a *beled*, or village, where I usually called on the venerable old sheikh; with Coptic or Jewish scribes, sitting on a mat. When I told him that I was an American, with an air of superior wisdom he told his attendants that "*Americanos* were the ship-builders of the Sultan in Stamboul."

Reis Suleiman commanded my boat, and Abder Achmed, his brother-in-law, was helmsman; a tall Nubian, a Berber Abudillah, an industrious Arab Ali, an honest Berber Schadi —these six composed the crew.

My dragoman, Antonio Kalieh, is an Albanian Greek. He was born in Iro Castri in Albania, and has made many trips through the east, to Damascus, and has frequently been from Aleppo to Bagdad by caravan. He was once a dragoman to Hamilton, who gave him a good character; but has probably since degenerated.

The grottoes of El Massara, which are near the village Tourah, may well induce one to stop his boat. Here they found the stone for the pyramids and mighty works of Memphis, and here the Hebrews labored for their cruel taskmasters.

One morning after breakfast I went ashore with my gun, popping at the pigeons, wild ducks, and pelicans, along the bank. Now I would start the beautiful white Ibis, whom the Egyptians might well respect for his carriage, and liken to humanity. I enjoyed with rapture the salubrious clime, the clear and serene heaven, the genial warmth of the sun,—the fragrant breath of nature. Village after village enticed me far in advance of my boat. Here were cool delightful groves, near which old patriarchal Turks were overseeing the labors of the

simple, respectful Arab, cultivating for them the fig and the vine,—lofty palm-trees, scattered in isolated beauty, spread a refreshing shade. Sometimes the old men came up and kissed my hand: one sitting on a mat in front of his house, where his wife was sewing, invited me to sit down. Declining the courteous solicitation, I pursued my course, now walking through open woodland ranges, luxuriant with dense foliage and the richest sward, approaching the majesty and grace of an English park—now passing through a populous village, conspicuous with mosque and minaret and bath—always pursued by the snarling bark of the unchristian dogs, and the "*Kelb*," or "*Nousrami*," (dog of a Christian,) of the no less malignant juveniles. The children and the curs are as anti-Christian as ever. Some of the finest men and women that I had ever seen, were returning from the well cultivated fields that extend to the oasis of the Fayoom; they always gave the respectful salutation of "Salaam Aleycoum," (God be with you,) or "Sabbahy l' kair," (Good day.) The atmosphere was impregnated with the fragrant blossoms of pea and bean fields, in full bloom, which were tall as one's head in growth. At sunset, I reached the bank of the river again. I had been in the sun all day, and was heated. I threw my clothes off, and enjoyed the refreshing luxury of a plunge in the river. What a renovation! This Nile is certainly a valuable gift to Egypt.

In the next village a woman cooked me some eggs, and I supped on milk and Arab bread. Ten o'clock came, and no boat. I was about to accept the hospitality of a boatman lying by the shore, as the village was filled with scowling men prowling with clubs, but I saw a light in the far distance. I fired my gun, while the boatmen hailed Reis

Suleiman. How it echoed in the night solitude! Soon I heard one of my pistols fired by Antonio, and the clear distinct cry of "Howaga." In half an hour my boat came up. My boatmen were no less joyed than myself. Antonio had kept my dinner warm, and I dined at eleven o'clock, and rested from the fatigues of the day.

Reached Benisooef the next evening. It is a good sized town, has a little bazaar, palace of a Bey, mosque, &c. Halil Effendi, a Bey, was starting on a visit to Minieh, and I saw an instance of the oppression of the rulers. They pressed at every village men from their work; one man, armed with a whip and dagger, ran along, catching whom he could, and, dragging them to the boat, made them pull it to the next village, where the same was repeated; while the crowds deserted their work as they came up. One of the taxgatherers I saw take a poor man's sheep, his only property in the world; and every man has to pay his neighbor's taxes, if he be poor; so that all comes to the oppressive pacha.

At Benisooef, one of my crew, Achmed, deserted. He had been my companion in excursions ashore, and always carried my fowling-piece. I had given him several presents, which he repaid by running away. We had a head wind, and the crew behaved badly: but I was spending the interval comfortably under the roof of a French refugee, Castellan, who had served in Egypt and Algiers, and was physician here; and next to the Governor, as *Hakim Pacha*, had the rule. He gave me letters to all the Hakims, and French gentlemen in the towns; lectured my crew; abused my dragoman as a *mauvais Grecque*, which I began half to suspect was the case, and insisted on parting most affectionately. In my walks along the shore to Benisooef, I found exceeding interest in the

neighborhood of the brick pyramid of Hawara and of Illaloon. I found the works of the Israelites, which their taskmasters, Moeris and his contemporaries, made them build. In entering the region of the Fayoom, I made frequent excursions toward Lake Moeris; but as to the Labyrinth, I had satisfied myself from the authorities of all writers from Herodotus to St. John, that a search for it would be most unsatisfying. In one excursion, in which I must have been very near it, I found brick with *straw*, such as the Hebrews used. The obelisk, bearing the name of Osirtasen, is really of interest; but I preferred resting quietly and reading in Moore's "Epicurean," of the poetical labyrinth, to looking for sites of the real one.

The two cities of Heracleopolis and Oxyrinchus, which are both included in the ancient nome of Arsinoe, have scarcely a wreck of their former grandeur. A single Corinthian column stands alone to mark the site of Oxyrinchus. The town of Behnesa is situated in sight of the river, and on an eminence. I took my Berber, and followed the water-carriers crowding to it: it is about a mile off, situated in a flourishing plain. I walked through the bazaar, and one or two well dressed and caparisoned Turks passed me on their horses. The Governor's palace was here, but I had not time to call on him. In the mosque of Behnesa are some columns once belonging to old Oxyrinchus. Mounds are all around, showing the former site of a great city.

We had an exquisite sunset and view up the river, as we passed Gebel el Teir, or Mountain of the Birds. The wildness of this region has been well described by travellers. There are tombs cut all along in the side of the rock. The convent is inhabited by monks almost of the same character with the people. My Arabs are full of fears. They keep upon

the other side of the river, and with some reason; for I find, since the time of Bruce, they have been here a wild robber race. Worse, more hang-dog looking faces, I never have seen. One who devastated the whole country, came to a village where there were two or three soldiers, stripped them all, and told them to go to Ibrahim Pacha and tell him it was *he*—giving his name—and to catch him if he could. At Tehnah I visited the site of the ancient Achoris: near here is the celebrated cave of Diana, and the worship of Diana was kept up in this region. Every locality and mountain in Egypt has its legend, and goddess protector. Here it was Diana; and lying in my boat, as we passed those mountains in the moonlight, I could fancy the old Greco-Egyptian's worship of his goddess, who he believed chased her prey over the hills; or of the older Egyptian to whom she was Diana-Lucina, and who believed her the nurse of Horus; and the legend is, that fleeing from Typhon, she hid him in these caves. The site of Artemidos Speos is just above, where her abode was; and the moon lighting up these hills like day, I fancy we hear the fleet horses of the goddess. Yes, like fair Greece, bright Egypt had its beautiful mythology, but

> "The intelligible forms of ancient poets,
> The fair humanities of old religion,
> The power, the beauty, and the majesty,
> That had their haunt in dale, or piny mountain,
> Or forest, by slow stream, or pebbly spring,
> All these have vanished;
> They live no longer in the faith of reason."
>
> SCHILLER'S *Wallenstein.*

The prodigy of the mountain of the birds is a legend that, at a certain season and hour, large flocks of birds assemble in

the valley, and go through the mysterious ceremony of inserting their bills in one of the clefts, and it closes upon one of their number, when he is left here to die, and the others fly away.

Soon we were beyond the mountains of Sheikh Said, where the Arabs, from an old tradition, throw some bread into the water, and call upon him, "Oh ho, Sheikh Said;" these mountains are worn underneath, and into natural grottoes, in which several crocodiles were sunning themselves, who started as we approached. On shore near Schmoun, I saw a young man riding on an ass with his wife behind him, and they looked so young, and such a happy couple, that I thought of Isaac wedding Rebekah.

From here the winds are very high, particularly in the neighborhood of Gebel Aboulfaydee, and the Reis and Arabs keep a good look-out in holding the sail. The old Grecian city is thus described by Alciphron: "the light Grecian architecture of the imperial city, the luxuries and honors of its gardens—the arches of triumph—the superb portico that encircles the whole city with its marble shade—the Circus of the Sun, by whose rare colored pillars the mysterious movements of the Nile is measured—the proud monuments of glory and art, and the gay multitude that enlivened them."*

It is after passing Gebel Hassan, on the east bank, that we come in sight of the ruins of Antinoe, and the city built by Hadrian in memory of his favorite, the young Antinoe. If the same spirit of beauty was upon this city as is upon the head of Antinous, what a spot of loveliness it must have been! It is an oasis in the wild district, whose thievish people stretch all along here. My Arabs dislike going to that shore, and always cross to the other side before night. Antinoe is called in

* Epicurean.

Arabic, Sheikh Ababdie, from a tradition of the Arabs related by Aboulfouda in his description of Egypt. In those times it was the metropolis of Upper Egypt, and a great town under the Saracens. The young Antinous is said to have been drowned in the Nile, but his memory is preserved in one of the finest sculptures of the finest Italian gallery. The traces of Corinthian pillars, triumphal arches, an avenue of granite columns, an aqueduct, and many other Roman remains still mark the site; but I could with difficulty trace the theatre spoken of by travellers.

It is among the anchorite caves in this mountain that Moore lays the scene of his Epicurean, and the retreat of Melanius, to which the two lovers fly. The picture he draws from the top of the mountain you might draw now, were not Antinoe, opposite, a ruin.

"The view from the top of the rock extending on either side embraced the two extremes of fertility and desolation. . . . When we turned to the river what a picture of animation presented itself! Near us to the south were the graceful colonnades of Antinoe, its proud populous streets and triumphal monuments. On the opposite shore, rich plains, all teeming with cultivation to the water's edge, seemed to offer up, as from verdant altars, their fruits to the sun, while beneath us the Nile,

——— "The glorious stream,
That late between the banks was seen to glide,
With shrines and marble cities on each side,
Glittering like jewels strung along a chain,
Had now sent forth its waters, and o'er plain
And valley, like a giant from his bed,
Rising with outstretched limbs, superbly spread."

In the beautiful valley the palm-trees seemed to merge into cool alcoves, and we appeared to sail through a land of roses. On the west shore lies a town, Coloso or Kolokosaneh. Here crowds of market women, sitting on the bank with the delicious fruits of the clime, invited us to the shore; and I was equally willing as my boatmen, as the wind was not fair, and the Arabs had been pulling all day, to rest here for the night. In a café were gathered a crowd of Almés, drinking sherbet; and one pretty Almé attracted me very much, as I sat sipping some delicious Turkish coffee.

An hour or two after, strolling through the town, a crowd attracted me to the café again, and there I found several Turks of the better class. There was an Effendi there, a Turk, and very much of a gentleman; two or three Arabs from the Red Sea, who were in some political station, and of noble presence. A Kurd from Erzeroum, with his tall cap, had wandered there by some means; and a wild-looking, rascally fellow of a Persian, from Kandahar. They had probably been to Mecca, and were returning upon some Mohammedan affairs. We were very gracious to each other; my cigars made them all friends to me, and we had on the whole a charming chat. We kissed each other's hands, when we parted; they having learned from me, as they supposed, all about England and America, and I having learned a great deal of Arabic and of the customs of the better class.

Just as I was going to bed, I heard the voices of some boatmen coming up; and looking out on the bright moon, saw the two English flags of some *voyageurs*. Our dragoman soon made us acquainted, and I went on board. Mr. F——y, an English gentleman; Mr. C———l, from Scotland; and Mr. F., a Dutch gentleman from Batavia, in Java. We

had a pleasant evening. I dined with them after it; and as they had all just come from India, they had much to tell of interest. Our Java friend had many stories of Thugs and Phansigars, and the beauty of that island which he had fully explored. I heard with delight his stories of the Malays.

With a fair wind, we push on through groves and islands, and sedgy banks; the river all the way to Osiout is dangerous, and since the days of Bruce has abounded in robbers. The boatmen have two guards at night. A story of an Englishman is frequently told, that some blacks from Sahara, that abound in the bazaar villages from here to Osiout, came from shore and killed dragoman, Englishmen and all. They generally swim in the water silently, and come up alongside the boat from the water side and cut your throat. My Arabs sing less frequently. Pass Fushna, a pretty village with palm groves.

We are through the province Fayoom, and now enter the Vostani, or Middle Egypt. We pass Minieh with a fair wind; and though I visited it on my return, I will describe it here.

Minieh is the site of the ancient "Cynopolis," or city of the dog; and it was said that there were here temples in honor of this animal; but the most interesting associations of Minieh are those of the times of the Caliphs. In the times of Ibn Katib, (after whom it was named *Minieh Ibn Katib*,) the Caliph, sent hither and took from here a Governor who had been promoted from a menial office to gratify his pique against the town. This man, Ibn Katib, had become the best of governors; but now deprived of his office was wandering poor and a beggar about Bagdad, when a poet came up and sang his praises. He replied by giving him a jewel which he had saved from his wreck; and the value of this

caused him to be brought before the Caliph, who, upon hearing the story, restored him to Minieh, where he and his posterity long reigned.

On my return here, I stopped and visited the beautiful old mosque which hangs over the water's edge. I wandered through the Turkish town (and they are all copies of each other), looking for memorials of the oriental sway in this old city. I entered the bath, so well described by Stephens, and I believe I had the same operator. Many people, of high rank, are living here. My old shampooer had so satisfied me at the bath, that I gave him as much as I did the keeper of the bath, for which I could hear them abusing him after I had left.

The Governor of Minieh is very severe. One woman had just been executed for infidelity, and her headless trunk was lying in the streets. A wind from the north detained us there some hours, strolling about the bazaars. I saw a French *hakim*, or physician, Mr. M——h. I was pleased at the handsome appearance and correct carriage of the women, who came to the water's edge to draw water.

On ascending the bold Mount Heredy, I found myself looking down into a deep dark valley, which glittered with a sort of crystal that fills the place. Some of these crystals are immense, and it might well be called the diamond valley. A large vulture was on a distant crag, and I at once saw the origin of the story of Sindbad, when my Arabs spoke of the *Elif Laila*, or thousand and one nights. A serpent of huge size lived here, and the people were afraid to go down into this abyss to get crystals for fear of him: *voila*, the bits of flesh; the *roc*,* the serpent of Sindbad. This serpent, or

* From the *Rockham*, Arabic, for "vulture."

another one, was here till very lately, and the Arabs believed that the body of Sheikh Heredy was changed into a serpent; the legend probably derived from the Egyptian idea of the serpent Kneph—their good spirit. When they are in difficulty they call on Sheikh Heredy, and my Arabs cried out, "*Ah! ha! Sheikh Heredy!*" to show me the echo of the place.

Mount Ababdie and Sheikh Ababdie is another legend.

The colossal figure, spoken of by Yates, is still to be seen at the bottom of Sheikh Heredy. It somewhat resembles the Sphinx, and is in a sitting posture. The mountains here offer fine subjects for the pencil, and I have been trying my poor hand at sketching. I never so much wished to be an artist as here on the Nile, to carry away some of the beautiful features of the scenery, which few think belong to this river. I trust our artists will yet be here, and carry away a panorama of it, and its thousand views, as they have done of the Mississippi and the Rhine. What a picture it would be! Thebes, Edfou, Philæ, Alexandria, Cairo, Osiout, moving on canvas before you.

The fun of a fair wind on the Nile is great. There is sometimes a gust that nearly capsizes our little boat, and nothing can be more picturesque than the efforts of our Arabs. Each one shrieking, jumping first to one side and then to another; the venerable Réis storming, and the folds of their turbans, and their long flowing robes streaming in the wind; their alarm, and efforts with their poles; the white sails, so like the wings of a bird, now shifted by them to this side, and now to that; and they, with their flashing eyes and ivory teeth showing their anxiety as they tack, while on we speed like a bird by villages, towns, mosques, minarets, in an oriental panorama. And when all danger is passed, the old

Réis comes aft with a grin, as he has done a thousand times, "*Haoua thayeeb, Howaga*"—"Wind is fair, Howaga;" "*Mouch ketyr minheeny*"—"Not too much of it just here;" *bokra* (to-morrow) *Luxor*, or *bokra Dendera*, as the case may be: and the others, as if I should pay them for the fair wind which Heaven had sent, would cry, "*Backsheesh, Howaga;*" and if I answered, "*Inshallah*," they would say, "*Thayeeb, Howaga—Howaga, thayeeb.*"

A day's sail among the mountains of Aboulfouda, the wild scenery, the picturesque rocks sinking into the river, the tower-like promontories and strata, were indeed among the most interesting objects of my journey.

There are the mountains just before Manfaloot. St. John, Dr. Richardson, and all writers upon Egypt, have dwelt upon the peculiar beauty of this scenery of Gebel Aboulfouda. Though not so grand as that of the mountains of Chenobuscion, I can scarce imagine any thing more picturesque. You sail under the rocks; the river has worn caves unapproachable save by the water. Here the anchoret has cut himself seats,

"Vivoque Sedilia saxo;"

and you can look far into them. Then on the edge basks the crocodile, and birds fly around; pigeons make their nests—tame creatures, sometimes flying on your boat: so sacred is the bird. Birds rest on your sails, and some pick up the crumbs by you and the grain of your fowls.

We passed after Sheikh Said, or Shek Saadi, the Tel-el-Amaron, and El Hargeh, and soon arrived in sight of Manfaloot, but having a fine wind, did not land till on my return. I was pleased with the town, as its towering minarets and tree-hidden

mosques made it look so like a New-England village, situated as it is in a green plain, and on the placid river. Evidences of lively Turkish life were about,—numerous soldiers, the caparisoned horses of Turkish officers, and the clashing cymbal sounds of a Turkish band, playing an old *English* tune, which I have frequently heard in representations of Norman history in the theatre. How familiar it sounded on the remote Nile. Some English refugee had been here, and taught the Arabs; who have a native musical skill, and under French teachers, as in the military bands of Cairo, make fine musicians.

On my return down the Nile, early in the morning, before sunrise, we landed at this place, and I strolled into the square, where the market-women were exposing fruits, vegetables, milk, butter, cheese, bread, and all the products. I was there struck with the civilized restraint, which is not so apparent in Upper Egypt. I walked several times through the bazaar, a large, wide street, which would have been an ornament to any city. The superiority of the shops, the fine stores of a peculiar kind of cloth that is manufactured here, the abundance of Jew and Greek merchants and Turks, the enterprising appearance of the place, (owing doubtless to this comparatively unproductive part of the valley of the Nile,) all had an interest from its contrast.

Beni Hassan.—Who does not here recall the expression in the book of Job, a "tomb cut in the rock?" The name of the Ositarsen is here, who, say some, expelled the shepherd kings from Egypt, and was contemporary with Joseph; and who, Bunsen says, with more explicitness than accuracy, *lived a thousand years before Moses, and that in his reign the shepherd kings invaded Egypt.* But, turning from such crude chronological conclusions, how interesting the proof of Scripture truth con-

tained here. The interest of Egyptian customs and trades developed here, is all written in Wilkinson. In the tomb of Pahri, I was gratified by the testimonies in favor of Scripture that crowded upon me. But, doubtless, the shepherd kings were expelled by Amosis; and Nolan's views on this point seem more reasonable, excepting his dates, for which I prefer to trust to Hales. As to the last fragment of Manetho, which Bunsen accepts and Lepsius rejects, I think it either a forgery, or a *lie* of Manetho.

Miss Martineau, in her book, exaggerates somewhat the beauty of the trades and customs represented in the tombs. In all of them, you can trace doorways and pillars, some sculptured, some, like the best tombs in Thebes, unfinished. Few enter all the tombs, as there are thirty-one in all, and but six or eight are interesting. The next to the two last in the face of the mountain has a vaulted portico, and two fluted pillars; its basement is painted a deep red.

Ositarsen the First is settled by Dr. Lepsius, of Berlin, to have been the *Setorsarsen* of the twelfth dynasty. The expulsion of the shepherd kings, by Amosis, according to Hales, dates 1909 B. C.; while, as Bunsen says, the shepherd kings invaded Egypt in his time. His chronology (by his accepting *every* fragment of Manetho, which is doubtless in parts a forgery) differs several hundred years from Hales's. Josephus, ambitious to prove the Hebrews a great people, has falsified history. He wished to identify them with the shepherd kings. With Hales's chronology I think it can be reconciled; but with the lesser chronology of Usher, and the greater of Bunsen, it cannot be. This, and the proofs from these tombs and those of Ghizeh, will be fully shown in another work.

I noticed in one of the tombs, Sechonsosis' name, of the

same dynasty as Manetho names. The idea that the captives in this tomb were Joseph's brethren, which Mrs. Romer, in her Travels, makes such a great noise about, is well exposed by Miss Martineau; as well as the Elginism of Mrs. Romer, in removing a figure of one of the captives. They cannot be Joseph's brethren, because they are figures of thirty-seven *captives*, instead of Joseph's ten brethren.

The Doric style of the columns is very beautiful, showing, in this highly ancient monument of Egypt, the origin of architecture, so improved by the Greeks; for, except the pyramids, Beni Hassan's tombs are the oldest monuments in Egypt.

Miss Martineau says it is safe to visit Beni Hassan; but I think that she was not ashore, among the scowling vagabonds that abound all the way up from Gebel El Teir to the tombs, as often as I was.

In one little Arab village, I entered just as three or four had reclined around a woman sitting under a tree. She was of the red hue of the Abyssinians, and, as I remarked, it was the acacia which blooms in Abyssinia. I could not but fancy she was apostrophizing, in her song, the tree of her native land, in the manner of the poet:—

"Oh, Abyssinian tree!
We pray, we pray to thee,
By the glow of thy golden fruit,
And the violet hue of thy flower,
And the greeting mute
Of thy boughs' salute,
To the stranger who seeks thy bower.

"Oh, Abyssinian tree!
How the traveller blesses thee,

When the night no moon allows,
And the sunset hour is near,
  And thou bendest thy boughs
  To kiss his brows,
Saying, 'Come, rest thee here.'
Oh, Abyssinian tree!
Thus bow thy head to me."

But the sentiment was only for a moment, for two tall, stout fellows, armed with clubs, came out and checked my admiration. Two Turks stood there, who had observed my admiration for the singer; which now controlling, I walked away, throwing her a piastre, and after making our purchases at the village, we continued on our way.

As to the convent of the pulley, whose beggarly monks are seen at this, as well as the convent of St. Anthony and St. Paul, and those abounding here, I leave them to the pages of Curzon, who, in his Monasteries of the Levant, has fully described and exposed their claims to the support and attention of the Christian world.

Oshmunein is the site of Hermopolis Magna of the Greeks and Romans; but few ruins remain of the great city of Hermes of the Egyptians, the stories of whom make us well conclude, with Nolan, that it was the divinely taught astronomical and provident wisdom of Joseph that furnished the tradition and original of Hermes. That Joseph's interpretation of dreams gave them Hermes,* and his astrological science, there is no manner of doubt.

Here they built their city; and as he was the original of the Mercury of the Greeks and Romans, as the divinity of

* See what Nolan has since written on the subject. 1849.

wisdom and learning here at Hermopolis Magna, the Macedonian and the Emperors Ptolemys and Roman Emperors cultivated his worship. What a sublime idea, that Scripture Joseph gave Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans their finest originals of mythology; and, carry the idea through: was not Noah, Osiris; and Typhon the deluge? was not Shem, Pthah, and did they not worship Ham as an astrologer? [see in Scripture the allusion to "the wisdom of Canaan."] Did they not gain their spirituality of belief from the Hebrew divine doctrine of the immortality of the soul? and were not their Amenti the last judgment, and all their natural religion the remains of primitive revelation given to the patriarchs and Hebrews, and partly inculcated among the Egyptians by Moses and Joseph?

Few remains mark the site of the great Hermopolis, and only some bricks tell what was the great city of Hermes, but the *well* of Joseph yet gladdens the Palestine traveller, and the localities of real, defined Scripture antiquity, are settled without doubt. What a host of convictions confirm the truth of the Bible in Egypt! The mysteries of Egypt were bugbears and charlatanism, and the truth of Scripture is the highest, best truth, possessing, as Sir W. Jones said, "more science, more antiquity, more lofty poetry, more true wisdom than all the writings of all the authors in the world."

Passing over, I was near the mountains on the Libyan side, two miles distant from the river. Here I entered a town nearly as large as Benisoof, which was really a curiosity. I doubt whether it has been visited by many travellers. The houses were handsomely built, better than any of the towns down the Nile. Hundreds of Bedouin encampments were around it, and the town was walled. Going into the gates, I walked through numberless streets, where women, engaged in

the most industrious occupations, seemed to be as much astonished at my dress, as the Indians at Peru were at the Spaniards. I could buy nothing, though I saw abundance of every thing I asked for. The men were all lying on the ground in the streets in rags, and a richer, more independent set of beggars I never saw. Not even a Turk was here—not a trace of civilization; nothing but the Bedouin Arabs. Flocks of camels, sheep, and goats, were around, and all showed the patriarchal independence of that primeval mode of life, in which God created man. I was unarmed, but I received not even an insult—not a word, but politeness. Had I entered a town nearer civilization, where Europeans are protected by Consuls and frigates, I would have been insulted, and, being defenceless, would have been endangered. I shall never forget the bright page of that Bedouin town. Virtue, the wealth of a fine soil, a salubrious atmosphere, and contentment seemed to reign. On my way toward the river, numbers of young men, apparently fourteen or sixteen, passed with their wives, of the same apparent age, all carrying baskets, riding on one donkey. They evinced the best breeding, and modesty that would have adorned a modern city. I never carried arms again among the Bedouins.

I returned, directing my course to the southeast, and, from a high dike, or mound, saw my boat—a mere speck far below. I distinguished the flags of my two friends' boats far in the distance. I arrived in two hours at a village on the river side, and waited for my boat. Here I found some people slaughtering an ox, and could easily buy milk, bread, and eggs, which I was refused every where along the plain, away from the river. In the larger Bedouin towns they told me I could only procure food at a *Belled*, or *small village*. They

are forced to conceal the possession of even milk to save it from the Pacha and his French emissaries, for one of whom they doubtless took me.

On arriving at my boat, I learned my acquaintances had passed it, and left an invitation for me to dine in the afternoon at Osiout in their boat. The views of the landscape increase in beauty; miles in the distance lay Osiout, in the midst of a fertile plain.

It has a little port where my friends' boats lay, and they having gone to the mountain, I hurried to mount one of the donkeys, which were offered me in good English; and Antonio and I were soon upon the lovely ride to Osiout. Such a beautiful situation! The trees have a peculiar flower that perfumed the atmosphere; and, on each side of an elevated road, over which we ambled on our nice little animals, lay gardens of orange trees, and groves: and, as we approached the outskirts, these gardens, attached to palaces of the Beys, and wealthier Osmanleys, increased in beauty. In the bazaar I saw numbers of Bedouin blacks from the desert of Sahara; the tallest men I ever saw, perfectly black, with the purest of white robes, armed ferociously, and looking like very *Lucifers*. Here all the marks of an Eastern bazaar are to be seen—Turks, Jews, Greeks, Arnaouts, Gwawazie, Arabs.

The Governor's house has been described by Stephens. I peeped into the mosque, and saw some fine columns. I hurried away to the tombs and site of ancient Lycopolis. Its ruins are built into the mosques and towns of modern Osiout.

Here was the capital of the Lycopolite nome, where the worship of the wolf and mummies was kept up—some say the dog, but doubtless it was the jackal, partaking of the nature of both. The paintings on the tombs abound with representa-

tions of them, and the pits are filled with their mummies; a strange and sickening idolatry, which Egyptian scholars, who conceive idolatry was only symbolical, may well note. It was the worst specimen of animal worship. Wolves and jackals abounded here, and were the curse of the people; they feared them, and worshipped them.

The view from the top of this mountain has been well described by Stephens, and I fear my readers may suspect the genuineness of my rhapsodies on Egypt, if I continue them. The plain filled with fields, the vast extent, the clear atmosphere, the river winding through the noble plain, is there still, and is well worth a voyage up the Nile.

To the southeast lay the Gebel el Kofferi, in whose sides those tombs are cut, which furnish Stephens with his descriptions and adventures with wolves and bats

The Sababinath, or Chamber of the Seven Virgins, has been fully described. E. Joy Morris, in his travels, relates an adventure, as well as the murder of one boatman, and the Governor's conduct in whipping his own crew for it. On my return to the town, I saw among the Sahara Africans some who were said to be from Senaar, who came here to trade in gold and ivory. I went to the Turkish bath, and found in the room, reposing on his couch, and enjoying his pipe, my Dutch friend, who seemed in a very *disinterested* manner, (in that luxurious position,) to offer to *wait for me. That* bath I shall never forget. Constantinople's baths of Suleyman Pacha were nothing to it. At Cairo I was always boiled, but in Osiout I enjoyed such a bath (*Turc*) as I never had, or expect to have again, unless I get to the Mussulman's Paradise. The darkness on entering, the luckily late hour and absence of persons, and the cleanliness, the finished and artistical rubbing

with the brush, the shampooing, the plunge, and the delightful splashing with cold water—and though I cried, "Not too hot," my old Arab understood the philosophy of contrast too well to oblige me—the soaping, and the whole operation, seemed to stamp the character of my performer. When he gets to the Prophet, he will be promoted to his grand *Hammam*, and have as many Houris as the Sultan. On reaching the couch room, I found my friend still ready to *wait;* and, swathed in towels, for an hour I reposed, while the soles of my feet were rubbed: and after a nap, and coffee, pipes, sherbet, lemonade, &c., we were on our donkeys, and riding back to the port and our boats. How the clear, delightful air seemed to rush into every pore as if a thermometer had regulated the atmosphere for us—every breath seemed Paradise! How beautiful the mountains in the setting sun—the high temperature of an air, one remove only from the tropical.

Back to Nile and its refreshing waters again. I dined with my friends; but, as the wind was fair, and they were forced to wait for their men to make bread, (a contingency which I had guarded against by instructing my dragoman to buy a sheep and bread for our men that we might not delay,) I was soon leaving beautiful Osiout. A piastre had given each of my Arabs a bath, and they were in as fine spirits as I was; and in the evening, as the clear bright moon shone upon the forms of Gebel Osiout, and the Libyan chain, and the wind carried us on, while the stars were reflected on the water as I have seen them in clear Lake Leman, or on the Rhine at Basle, the Arabs told a beautiful story, in which I recognized a likeness to one of the Mollaka stories of Percival. They told the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, and their usual exciting tales of Antar, and his beautiful loved

Hybla. They told them with flashing eyes, interspersed them with fables that might have been in Lochman, and stories from the Elif Laila and songs.

We bade adieu to El Hamra, the port of Osiout, whose donkey boys are so smart, and leaving our English friends, started with a fair wind. I sat through the evening, running over in my mind the history of the town we had left. Miss Martineau, in her work, describes the beautiful plain, and has run over the history. Here, in earlier times, even in such beauty of nature, men worshipped and embalmed the wolf, and the dog, and the jackal, because they feared them as the destroyers of their flocks. Here the Greek Emperors had a home, as Egypt's rulers have to this day. Here lived the Christian Bishop, John of Lycopolis, whose famous adventure and connection with the Emperor Theodosius of Byzantium has been well storied.

While going over the beautiful palace and gardens of Ibrahim Pacha, where Mohammed Ali always lived on his way to Upper Egypt, I could not but feel the interest of the changes: that the Christian Bishop should no more govern this charming plain, and that while his creed rules the finest part of the world, his former home is ruled by the Moslem. The fourteen minarets of Osiout; the steamboat of the Pacha's daughter, who is old now, but has been celebrated for her lovers; the many monuments of Moslem sway—what a change! Miss Martineau compares the immense plain and its fertility to the rolling prairies in Illinois, and with some justice. Osiout is the present capital of Upper Egypt, and is the most interesting city on the Nile, after Cairo. A description of the present Egyptian towns would form an interesting volume by themselves.

Soohajz is the ancient "Crocodilopolis," or city of the crocodiles, where they were worshipped. Here we were sure of seeing large ones, and our guns were ready for a fine aim. We saw two huge ones on a bank, but not in time for a sure shot. From here travellers generally visit the convent of Aboo-Shenood, and an interesting place it is: the half-naked monks, running about, their delight at seeing a Frank and Christian who will give them a few piastres, are a real novelty. The site of the convent is the old city of *Medeneh Atreeb.* Mr. Curzon, in his Monasteries of the Levant, has fully described one of his visits here. Certainly the monks are hospitable to all pilgrims who come from Abyssinia, or are going to the church there; and one was there, who, though black, was said to be a highly learned man. How much that Hamyar priest, (whose black skin could not conceal the delicate modesty of the scholar,) how much could he tell me of the Sabeans and the kings of the East, those who first acknowledged Christ;—whose queen was Sheba; and of the Abyssinian church in the land whence came gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh.

Though it was said we should see crocodiles after we had passed Minieh, we did not see them till we had passed Osiout. They uniformly dived into the river as we approached.

Our boat took a wrong route, and the reis was perplexed by the numerous islands here. As it went back, I crossed one of the islands and proceeded up. As my boat came up in an hour, I had to cross a fork of water up to my neck, and one of my boatmen, who had been sent to get me, stripped, and I sat on his head. Half way over, I heard his neck crack beneath me, and expected a splash; but he carried me bravely over and dropped me on the bank, so fatigued that he could only

grin, and mutter "Thayeeb Howaga." Poor Saadi! I liked him best of them all. He wanted to go with me to America.

Farshiout lies between Soohajz and the bend which the river makes to Dendera. Like the whole country from Girgeh, it is highly productive and beautifully cultivated. Immense ditches go to the mountains, which irrigate where the river Soohadjz or Soohadjz Moje Water and its streamlets do not flow. The water-wheel or *Sakias*, or Persian wheels, are frequently seen, and a greater industry seems to prevail in the cultivation here. The river is filled with islands, and navigation is difficult. Sometimes our boats get aground, and our boatmen strip and jump into the water, despite the *timseachs* or crocodiles.

At sunrise of this lovely morning, I was on my feet and climbing the lofty mountains on the Arabian side, the whole chain of which are called the mountains El Said, and rise in forms of castellated grandeur as we ascend the Nile. The Gebel-el-Teir was a wild chain; Gebel Heredy was lofty and noble; Gebel Osiout was high and picturesque; and Gebel Girgeh higher still. But if these are grand, the Gebel-el-Said is sublime. I walked along through shady groves of the *doum* palm, which I here saw for the first time, and of which Juvenal speaks. The fruit looks enticing, resembling a pomegranate, but is said to be poisonous. Catching a view of the distant furnaces of How or Havou, the Diospolis Parva of the ancients, and which, from its furnaces, may well be called the Birmingham of Upper Egypt, I hurried back to my boat and breakfast. The mimosa and acacia trees fill this fertile plain.

Passing How, I landed again, our boat having crossed to the other side, upon the Libyan or western bank. These

Libyan mountains, like the Arabian chain, make a circuit of several miles, their gray, brown forms glistening in the sun. Between the Nile and these, stretches a semicircular valley of the most beautiful green, and spotted with a hundred Bedouin encampments and straw huts, with their flocks of camels, sheep, buffaloes, and goats. It was all primitive as the patriarchs. These, my dragoman told me, were the poorer Bedouins from Mecca or Hajji, so called. While we were walking along, one of them came up with several scarabæi with cartouches on them, saying that he had brought them from Gournou. I saw they were newly manufactured. Scarcely a genuine antique was offered me at Cairo or Thebes, for in both places the German agents get every thing. He armed himself with an ugly weapon or pickaxe, as if afraid of us.

Looking down the Nile here from the high mound along the river, as it makes a turn, what a magnificent view! a combination of the most lovely attributes of Nature, and beauties of mountain and valley; the Arabian chain bounded the vale in the distance, and between it and the Lybian chain flowed, through the most luxuriant of plains, the lovely Nile.

Thus O Egypt, has the Almighty Power, who avenges nations, yet left upon thee the impress of beauty, as if to say that, though cursed in thy rulers, thou hast yet the marks of external and noble grandeur. Below wound the wide river and its beautiful waters. Far in the distance, grove upon grove, paradise upon paradise like, the view seemed to stretch: the town of How was visible miles down in the clear atmosphere.

But what lofty castle is this before us, jutting over the river, or rather, assemblage of castles? It is one which Isis or Nature threw down as a challenge to all the Gothic piles in the north of Europe; and in every century the Baron,—the

architect, has tried to equal it, and failed; a thousand piles of man's workmanship could hardly equal in grandeur that bold form. Fortress of eternal rock, that over that Egyptian city of Kasr-el-Said, and stones of the ancient city Chenobuscion, rearest thy lofty form, and haltest here in boldness and grandeur, which the Drachenfels, or Hudson's cliffs, or Gibraltar, cannot excel; thy lofty battlements, thy terraces of hundred surmounting strata, thy clusterings of fluted columns, and points and spires, which the glacier can scarce rival; thy pillars, like *vertebræ* of a huge animal, thy broad eternal front reflecting its dark form in the clear glassy mirror below—contrasting in grandeur with the puny forms of the dates and palms, skirting the green at thy base; like man to a pyramid: what are man's attempts, St. Peter's Church, the Pyramids, or St. Paul's pile, when beside thee? Slope away again from the river, wild mountains of Araby. It is a noble work, that last of thine, Dame Nature, and you may well retire with such modest grace.

I passed here a boat of two acquaintances, and English ladies; one of whom I had met two winters since in Italy, who had made the tour of Syria, as English ladies, without any protector but Lord Palmerston's letters. One of them I had known to be an affectionate wife in Naples, and who had given a large sum recently to the new English Church in Jerusalem, for an organ. I fired a salute, and the echo of the report bounded through those mountains, and replied again and again.

On an island we passed three or four crocodiles, the largest I ever saw. That motion of theirs—half awful, half disgusting—their huge size, makes one think of the formless *larva* and the theory of the old Rosecrucians, creeping into

life, and gazing with its dead, dreamless eyes. They were worthy of being gods of old-*reposing* Egypt, like the sphinx or god of whom it may be said:

"Sedebit eternum que sedebit."

Further on, mountains still noble. A boat of two English travellers, brothers;—Messrs. B.—one a reverend, who had been to Wady Halfa, or second Cataract. In the evening the steamboat, with Dr. Lallemand, passed. He afterwards told me that he went to Philæ and back, and I believe was only a fortnight. He said that he thought a sail-boat must be intolerable. I could not go in any other with pleasure.

The panorama of Nature of this fine day is to close. Never did day close more finely. Such a sunset! such clouds and colors, before the monarch of day leaves this clear atmosphere, as if in regret; such ranges of golden hues, such a liquid expanse of splendor, and fretted gold, and gorgeous curtain upon curtain of cloud rolling over; and scarlet and crimson, and all the colors. I would be a pantheist of old Egypt, and sun worshipper, did I not know that thou, O God, my Father, made it all—

"These things of beauty that are a joy forever;"

and for these I thank thee.

In the afternoon of the next day, I stopped at Ikhmim, on the east bank, to explore the ruins of the celebrated *Panopolis*, spoken of by Yates and several travellers as being the city of Nero; but inquiring at the Christian Convent of the Austrian *propaganda*, I found a most polite missionary, with whom I had a conversation in Italian. He assured me it was not the site of *Panopolis*, which was far distant; that there was no arch there, of which Conder and Yates speak so positively. I was

most politely received, and he pressed on me coffee and pipes, but I pleaded the fair wind, and got away. It is said to have been founded by Ikhmim, great-grandson of Ham, grandson of Cush, and son of Misraim: here of old the magicians had their chief seat.

The proper Panopolis, the polite ecclesiastic told me, was near Soohajz, and does not agree fully with Wilkinson's account, who copies several inscriptions from it here.

The oppressive taxes of this town, I doubt not, are the secret of this wretchedness that seems so irreconcileable with the fertility of the country; the Pachas, here the cruel task-masters, suck up every thing that is produced.

At the Arab town of Iboseir, we leave the last town of the ancient division of Middle Egypt, and enter the Thebaid. It was not far from here that two of my acquaintances from England had their boat capsized in a gale, and it sank. All their clothes and stores were lost or spoiled. They were invited by the Governor of Osiout to his house, where they remained till they refitted another boat and went up. The danger is great in a heavy wind, and the agitation of the Arabs ludicrous.

What fertility! Here the Nile has conquered the desert; and these little struggles of Osiris and Typhon you see all along up the Nile. How drew the old Egyptians their mythology from nature!

Tahta.—The fine wheat of the rich, open plain, is dwelt upon by all travellers. There are large coal-pits here, the coal being burned from the acacia; and we, being marketing in coal just now, put to the shore to purchase some. I found here an eminently trading people. They wished to sell me sheep, turkeys, geese, lambs, chickens, &c.; but we had laid in our mutton at Osiout, and pushed on to the village of *Gau-el-*

Kebyr, or *Great Gaw*, to visit the ruins of the ancient Antæopolis, which I examined more fully on my return.

Among the beautiful islands that abound in this fertile part of the Nile we wind, enchanted at the increasing purity of the air, rejoicing in the most perfect health, and thankful for the Creator's gifts that are so boundlessly scattered over these fertile plains. The wheat crops and all kinds of grain, beans, and peas, charm the eye and perfume the air. We had heard of the excellent bread of Millawi, and stopped for some.

Above Soohajz we passed Menshieh or Moonshieh, which has a Coptic church, convent, walls, and fine groves—the site of "Ptolemais Hermes," or the Hermes of the Ptolemies. A quay only remains. Its fine wheat and bread are famous. Here we enter the Said, and are rejoiced at the dryness of the climate, the clearness of the atmosphere, and charming beauties of this smiling land. The Romans, in the times of the Emperors, sent their invalids here for health; and no wonder, for in all the world there is scarce more congeniality of the atmosphere. Here no exciting volcanic air, as in the baths of Baiæ in Campania, gives unnatural fire to the blood, but the dry, clear atmosphere gives you that unconsciousness of being aught else, than a creature made to thank God for his gifts.

In the morning, at sunrise, I left my boat and started for a walk to the mountains. Passing through a plain rich in all kinds of grain, I kept on up the river. I walked through numberless Bedouin encampments, with flocks and herds; but, strange to say, I could buy neither milk, eggs, nor bread, which was usually my excuse for a chat.

The incidents with my reis and crew would form a book of themselves. We started well, and for four days it was all

happiness. The first difficulty was, their refusing to drag with a slight head wind. I rose and stormed in English and French, which latter my dragoman alone understood, and made them leap out of the boat and obey me. At Benisooef, my friend the Frenchman Castellan, by his lectures to them when he visited me, and by threatening to inform all the Hakim Pachas up the river by letter that I was on my way, and if I was not there at the proper time, to have them punished—and a few other influences—carried us swimmingly up to Luxor, although we had a head wind nearly all the time. I never struck one of them a blow; though twice, to frighten them, I levelled my pistol at the heads of one or two of them, and used to practise putting a ball through an orange, and always pretended to have a most violent temper, which really made them afraid that, in a fit of passion, I would shoot one of them. The fear that one has in starting alone from a town in the extreme part of the Nile, entirely at their mercy, soon wore off, and I was soon as much at home with them as in my father's house. It was ever "backsheesh" at night, when the boat stopped; whenever my dragoman went ashore; and I always gave them a little. An occasional glass of wine to the reis and steersman, a little brandy to them all, cigars almost daily, for I had five or six boxes not fit to smoke, always conciliated them. Sometimes I would order coffee to all around; and sometimes, when they were out of bread, I gave them all my own store rather than have them stop. It required a great deal of management, which was constant occupation and amusement. After five or six days, they were down on me for a *harouf*, or mutton, and the promise of a sheep at Osiout quieted them: now I would give them one or

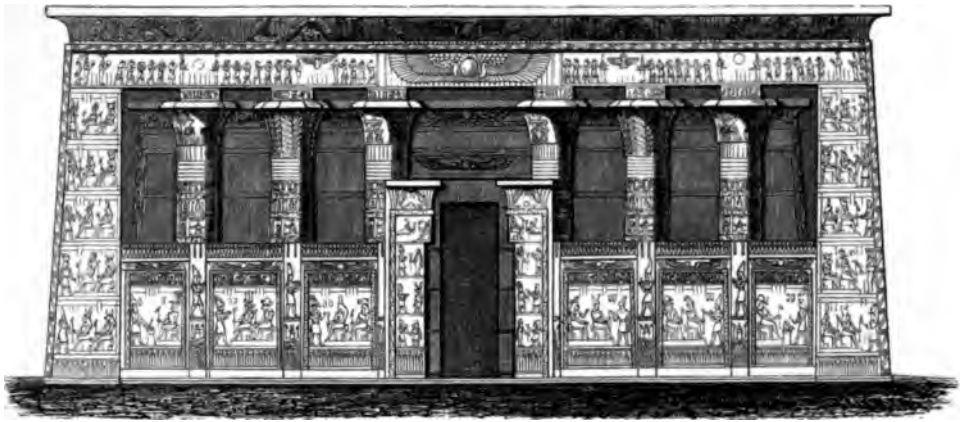
two turkeys, and nothing would give me more pleasure than "Howaga thayeeb."

I found out my dragoman early and drew the purse strings upon him, giving him only a hundred piastres—one pound at a time. The prospect of getting the *job* of being my dragoman through Syria, kept him from violence and too open fraud. He had no influence with the crew, and all the storming I was forced to do myself; and he was only fit to set my table, and lie down and tell me stories about Damascus, and Aleppo, and Bagdad. He was harmless generally and sometimes provoking. I once threatened to pitch him into the Nile, and once came very near thrashing him. In my excursions I used to have one of the Arabs for a companion, with whom I could talk by this time very well, or my Syrian Turk Bokra, who was a tall man, and had he been dragoman, and the other the cook, I should have much preferred it. At most of the towns up the river where the boat lay, there was usually a guard, who was paid. At Luxor, while absent one night on an excursion, some of my best clothing was stolen. The next morning I refused to pay the guard, who had done his business so badly. I finally flung him a piastre, and he joined my dragoman in some words in Arabic, which were not very complimentary. These little affairs were but momentary, and only relieved the monotony that I began to feel.

Girgeh.—How prettily this town looks. Its tall minarets; its houses with pigeon tops, a species of architecture which strikes you a few villages below. Its thick grove behind, was beautiful; it was formerly the capital of Upper Egypt, and a very large town. There is a governor here; thousands of Turks strutting through the town; and some important-looking dignitaries, Greek Albanians. The stores have the best articles

of Upper Egypt exposed for sale. Here we saw the boat of a rich Turk and his gayly-dressed wife. The women here are good-looking, and their heads ornamented with coins; numbers of soldiers are to be seen in the streets.

We left Girgeh for a ride to Abydos. Girgeh was named after St. George, patron saint of the Egyptians, who is also the watchword of England, and the legend was obtained by one of her knights at Bibbeh, below Benisooef, where his memory is transformed into that of a Moslem saint, and honors are paid as such to his memory—dragon and all.



TEMPLE OF EDFOU

PART II.

PROVINCE OF THE THEBAID, IN THE ANCIENT DIVISION OF UPPER EGYPT.

CHAPTER I.

ABYDOS.

ABYDOS or This, How, Dendera, Cooft or Coptos, Coos, Luxor, Karnac, Gournou, Medinah Tabou, Thebes, Biban el Memlook, Al Asassif, Hermonthis, Esne, Edfou, Eilythyas, Gebel Luxor, and quarries of Hadjar Silsillis, Koom Ombos, Assouan, Philæ.—Among the ancient Egyptians these were the principal sites. But commencing with the earliest days of Egypt's splendor, we find three great sites of empire, Abydos or the ancient *This*, situated sixty miles below Thebes, (built a few centuries from the date of the pyramids and Memphis,) and which we are now approaching. It had sixteen sovereigns reigning while Cheops built the first pyramid. Over this province of Tanis, which extended from where we are to Dongola, beyond the second cataract, ruled the predecessors of Rameses the Great, whose names are written in the tablet of Abydos. Of their structures, their surmounting capitals built as long before Rameses as the apostles of Christ were anterior to us, of Aby-

dos, of Memphis, nought remains. Thebes was then an unsettled plain. The superstructures of Rameses the Great, and Osiren at Abydos, at Aboosimboul, at Thebes, built upon these, still give an idea of the glory of Egypt throughout the valley of the Nile. A pyramid of Cheops or his contemporaries, a granite sanctuary * of Ositarsen, or a tomb cut in his time,† and such solitary records as the tablet of Abydos, alone attest their existence or their history. Like Babylon, like Babel, like the localities of young earth, their sites are the ruins of their empires, and we look at them alone through the dim glass of their successors of thirty centuries ago—to whom they were yet, by ages and *siecles*, an ancient race.

While at Abydos I could not but rehearse the ages that had passed in Egypt's earlier time over that spot. The ancient This, it alone of all Egypt, save Memphis, stood as the locality of the first founders of Egypt. We do not conceive it necessary to go to Wady Halfa with Miss Martineau, and look over into Dongola to see this. We can contemplate from this, as a *point de depart*, the dynasties of Egypt. Here before the Augustine age of Rameses, and his father Osiren, (who built these kingly halls,) lived the earlier dynasties, who were as much anterior, says Bunsen, to Rameses or Sesostris, as Augustus was to our era. The excavations of Messrs. Salt and Bankes have thrown true light upon the history of Egypt; the tablet of Abydos contained the name of Sesostris as its last name, and is the grand regulating touchstone—the Doomsday Book of Egyptian Chronology. I ran over in my mind the history of this age before Abraham came into Egypt; of those who built here before the building of the pyramids, and who lived here at This, upon whose foundations

* Karnac. † Beni Hassan.

Rameses built, as the tower of London is built upon Cæsar's foundations. "Here once stood a flourishing empire!" From here what civilization had its rise! I once thought the age of Sesostris ancient; how ancient Herodotus thought it, but how modern it seems; what a *Periclean* advance upon his predecessors, standing here upon the ruins of This. He built here; and when you creep into the inner parts of these old temples, and the palace where his statue was found—into places so filled that you cannot enter, where Miss Martineau said she sent in the Arabs to count the alabaster columns; when you look at these walls, covered with sand, you sigh, that Rameses should have looked upon the ruins of his predecessors as we look upon his. The distinctness of the bas-reliefs and figures is such, and the paintings so beautiful and so delicately executed, that you would fancy you were in Pompeii, or Herculaneum, or some remains of an era of eighteen centuries, instead of one of three thousand years.

Here doubtless Menes, or his successors of the first and second dynasty, established their seat as the capital of Upper Egypt, as they settled first at Memphis, and thence proceeded up the Nile, (for, ethnologically and historically, the fable of Meroe and the descent has been exploded.) Five thousand five hundred years ago, (according to Bunsen's questionable chronology,) Menes turned the course of the river Nile, making the change so spoken of.

Abydos was on the road to the Great Oasis; Ethiopia had early been settled, and hence here *This* was the favorite site by which it attained its grandeur. The other remains at Abydos are only some mounds and rubbish; and, save these remains of the palace, there is nothing. But a locality older than the pyramids—a locality older than any site save Mem-

phis—how it grows on one! Let us turn to Miss Martineau's work for the recapitulation of the history. Abydos, like Luxor, and Gournou, part of Karnac, and most of Thebes, was built by Rameses, and his father Osiren, who has dedicated the temple to Osiris; and the whole area is sacred to him. But where were the Hebrews while Rameses was building here? Joshua* was vanquishing those nations of Palestine and Syria who were opposed to the Jews. Of these circumstances there can be no doubt. The tablet of Abydos† of the predecessors of Sesostris agrees perfectly with all the monuments in the orders of reigns and dates, which is more than can be said of the only other royal story of Egypt of Manetho, and is in accordance with the temples. How unfortunate for the early tales of Egypt, that the beginning is broken away. What might it not teach us of the patriarchs and earlier prophets? But we turn away from this interesting place, from its dust-covered mounds, its sand-covered palace, and its flapping bats. Why does not Mohammed Ali clear this out as he has so well done Dendera and Esne? How the sandstone roof shines in the sun, as if in hope of the memory of Rameses being better represented. We leave the clear sculptures and paintings with regret, among which was the boat of which Miss Martineau speaks. The ride from the temple to Balliani is like the ride from Girgeh to Abydos. The sweet perfume of the fields, the bright sun, the happy and industrious people going to and returning from the fair fields, crops of vetches, wheat, barley, lentils, flax, the Egyptian bean and sugar-cane, enchanted me the whole way. Miss Martineau, St. John, and all writers, have dwelt on the beauty of this

* Champollion. † Miss Martineau.

plain. Farewell to thee, Abydos! well art thou called *Arabat el Matfoun* (Arabat beneath the sands).

On our return from Abydos I met my boat at Balliani and there being a settlement of the Almé here, I was forced to see again this exhibition as a pastime, while waiting for my boat. I stopped here both going up and coming down. It is a small place with only one or two mosques.

Rouda, and a sugar manufactory.—Passing this place we stopped a moment. Piles of sugar-cane were lying upon the shore and guarded by Arab soldiers. It had been brought here by the boats, and we could not purchase one stick for love or money. In the sugar manufactory bones are used to heat the boilers, and rags and papyri, and the remains of Egypt's necropolis.

So we go; manufactories and steam engines on the site of the towns of Rameses, and the Setorsasens. Any thing but railroad and steamboat on the beautiful old Nile.

Such is our life on the Nile. A strange, rare luxury it is, unlike any thing else in the world. Now you can take your gun and go on shore, and though the middle of January, walk through a rich plantation of *dourra* or the bearded wheat, or maize, or some fragrant field of the plenteous land. A mound or dike separates you from the view; you jump over it, and find yourself in the town of some ferocious dogs or hospitable Bedouin. Now you are tired and wander back to your boat, popping over a few birds to save your reputation. Now you sail by a mountain filled with the caves of anchorite Eremites. Now you go ashore at a town where there is a market and an assemblage of Gwawazie. Now an ancient Egyptian structure of the Pharaohs. Now a pile of the Romans. Now you sketch the picturesque mountains. Now

you study the formation of the strata. Now 'tis a pipe. Now coffee. Now a tale from your dragoman. Now a song from your Arabs. Now a boat passes laden with pottery from Geneh. Now another with slaves from Darfour. Now one with the Sultan's flag, and the wives of some Turk. Now a crowd of trading Arabs, whom our boatmen hail and try to excel in blackguardism, in Arab style. Now groves of palm alone to gaze at. Now picturesque landscape of acacia groves, villages with their eternal dove-cotes, and the date-tree, all along the shore, ever having under them a clay-built village or *Belled*, and ever beautiful. Now your boatman cries, *Timseach*, "a crocodile," and has his spear ready or your gun, but is always too late. I never could shoot one, but always fancied, as does every one, "*that I hit him.*" The dryness of the atmosphere is a great peculiarity. Meat of a sheep that I gave my boatmen at Osiout has hung nearly a week in the open sun and air and not spoiled, though it is as warm as summer.

CHAPTER II.

Visit to the temple of Dendera.—The walk through the doom-palm Villages.—Crossing the river.—First sight of temple.—Rubbish.—Ruins.—The temple.—The effect of the front.—Columns.—Countenance of Athor the Egyptian Venus.—The idea of the temple.—The ruined temple.—Grand temple.—Typhonium.—Sculptures of the gods.—Sunset from the temple.—Evening in the temple.—The supper.—The Bedouin camp.—The bivouac.—The fires.—The watch-dog.—Canopus and the southern cross.—Mussulman virtues.—The women.—The morning.—The Repast.—Second visit to Dendera.—The smaller temple posterior.—Historical part of the temple.—Sculpture of Cleopatra and the Ptolemies, Alexander, &c.—View from the mound.

After landing at Dishna, about four leagues south of Geneh, I started on a very bad donkey, with one of the boatmen, to visit the temple of Dendera. After an hour I sent back the donkey, and proceeded on foot through the delightful groves of doom palms, of which Juvenal speaks in his satires. About two hours before sunset, we crossed the river in a ferry-boat, and after walking an hour, beheld on a distant mound of rubbish, the far-famed temple of Dendera. Another hour's walk carried us through fields of barley, beans, vetches, and lentils, and over the mounds of rubbish which completely surrounded and partly concealed the temple. But what an awful feeling of grandeur struck upon me, when, without waiting to go round through the portico, I bounded down the wall and stood before the striking fabric. There on the ceiling move

along the heroes and gods, the priests and kings, the great and good and powerful of Egyptian mythology and story. There are the colors that have stood the storms of eighteen centuries, and along the better protected roof, the winged globes are repeated, gliding into one another, surrounded by stars, where the blue is so fresh that I half imagined myself in the Senate chamber, in the capitol of my own land. Above the capitals, Isis, in the character of Diana, receives offerings of the priests. Further on, in the next entrance, she surmounts the beautiful capitals. This is more indistinct than the *pronaos*, and is probably the ancient Egyptian temple erected to Athor; the *pronaos* having been erected afterwards and consecrated to the Roman Venus, in A. D. 65, by Tiberius Cæsar. I will not describe the several rooms through which I passed, one opening upon another in more or less distinctness, the sanctuary and side chambers, nor that passage seemingly into the ground, where after crawling along with a light, and driving away the bats, I saw the most distinct sculptures of the whole temple, the sweet face of Isis, and the wonderful artistical beauty in the countenances of the priestesses, following me in my dreams days after; nor the staircases, the procession of priests, the feasts, the beautiful forms of Egypt reclining on their delightful couches, the heroes in their sacred boats, the zodiacs above, and the place of the statue below. All these are for the guide books.

But I pass to consider the philosophical idea of the whole, the purpose for which the temple was erected. Athor has been defined by St. John as that principle in Nature by which things naturally assimilated to each other are brought together for the production of new and beautiful forms.

This principle, the generative power of Nature, was a

beautiful and divine goddess with the ancient Egyptians. As the fount of all creation and beauty, Athor was worshipped. That power which produced and continues the human race, the mystery of conception and birth growing out of beauty and love in our race, and with which the animals are like us endowed; which in the vegetable creation, as the seed decays, and the *pollen* and *anther* are brought together, produce the new germ: this creative power of Nature was Athor. It was a sweet woman; a beautiful form—a woman and mother! To this power was the temple erected—beauty, love, creation!

Her face—the sweet form of a woman, in which the Egyptians embodied that idea, surmounts the capital. The Roman, when he came, welcomed the idea, and associated it with his goddess, who was worshipped as the same power; he consecrated it to *his* Venus; though a less philosophical idea, and more material attributes, belonged to *his* divinity. He placed the Roman coiffure on the Egyptian head-dress, which deforms it still. From her (Athor's) bosom too issues the world; and before your eyes, in distinct sculptures, glide the universe, the heroes, the processions of sacred boats, the priests and gods. On they move, and your eye follows them—the gods of the olden time. Osiris, covered with his plumed helmet; Isis, smiling with her sweet face, and budding form; Horus, the son of the beautiful heroic wedlock. Further on, the spirit of the creative power is exhibited; love and pleasure reign, musical processions, festivals, offerings and sacrifices to the gods; priests carrying fruits and flowers; Isis, Osiris, Horus, receiving gifts; monarchs returning from victories with the rich spoils of time, speaking their names in cartouches in the living stone; and with whom the Ptolomies, the Cleopatras, the Cæsars, are proud to mingle their own.

Now comes birth. Isis, or Nature, in her many attributes and presiding powers, here appears in the character of nurse, or the Lucinian Diana. Here, with the infant in her arms, she receives offerings from the priests: this is repeated above the *pronaos*, above the façade, full in all the capitals. Go where you will, it is some modification of the same idea.

In reviewing the effect of the temple, I was struck with one conviction—the superiority of the ideas of divinity among the Egyptians to all the other so-called heathen nations. Whether, degenerating directly from the patriarchs and the true God, they were less sunken in their ideas than the Greeks and Romans, certain it is that their worship was higher. It is not the worship of mere sensual pleasure—it is the sacred idea of love, generation, and birth combined. The rites were not such as required the prostitution of virgins as at Ephesus, in Greece, at the temples of Venus; it is the sacred institution of wedlock—not Venus presiding over awful profane pollutions. No! it is Isis in the character of chaste Diana. The sweet face of Athor smiles upon you, not with wanton temptation, but with half-maternal benignity. The artistical power in the female statues is not displaying the charms of the courtezan. Nowhere is the smile of Isis that of the harlot: it is all that makes marriage sacred. They might have written above,

'To Beauty, Love and Wedlock, Creation, and Birth.

I read several hieroglyphics, among which I noticed that the names of Cleopatra, and her son Cæsarion, were the latest. I noticed also the names of Antoninus Pius, Trajan, and several other Roman Emperors. In searching for the name of

AOTKRTR, *autocrator*, Emperor, indicating the name of *Claudius*, or *Nero*, (who are designated on all the Egyptian medals thus,) and which Le Lorrain had left when he detached the zodiac, and carried it to Paris, I could see that some one (*Frenchman* in all probability) had endeavored to deface the remaining part. I had a clear idea of the zodiac in Paris, which I had often been to the Bibliotheque to examine, and satisfied myself that the deception was exactly what Champollion describes in "Fourier and Napoleon." But who can deface the marks of Roman sway in the entire edifice? the ceiling of the planisphere, and names, surnames, *cartouches*, titles, symbols of Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, and Domitian.*

The moon was far up when I came out of the temple of Dendera. The boatman advised me to go to the Sheikh-e-Belled at Dendera, as the people in the villages were reckless, and the modern town had a very bad reputation. We walked up the river bank two miles, until, reaching a wide plain, we came among numerous flocks of Bedouins, and one noble-looking old man of one party attracted me to the fire they were sitting around. A thought struck me to pass the night there, and going among them, I claimed their hospitality. As my approach aroused them, one seized a pickaxe sort of weapon; but my manner instantly assured him that I was a harmless intruder. Summoning my best Arabic, I went up and saluted the old man and his four or five sons, whose wives were sitting in the tents around, and whose sons' sons (for they all had a family likeness) were sitting with him around the fire. I represented myself a *hadgi* or wandering pilgrim, exploring the *birbehs* or temples, and that I was poor, and

* See Appendix, Note A.

begged to stay there for the night. The green grass and a mat, before which a bulwark of woven straw was placed, seemed the only chance for a bed, as I knew I ought not to think of looking near the women and their tent, and I was determined to trust to their disposal of me. He seemed to thank *Allah* for the opportunity of performing one of the Mohammedan rites of hospitality, and I could now see that the women in the tent were busy making bread, and the elder sons, the husbands, milking the cows, preparing coffee, &c. I had meanwhile been given the best place on the mat, and the old patriarch was doing his best to look what he could not say. Luckily, I had Marcel's vulgar Arabic dictionary in my pocket, and we had an interesting conversation. I could not but think, as I saw his venerable hairs, his noble brow, and his numerous posterity, and their camels, cows, sheep, goats, calves, &c., two hundred in number, I should say,—of Abraham sitting at the tent at the cool of day. I had seen one of them praying, and his silent, real devotion, unlike the affected manner of the displaying Moslems I had usually seen, would have done credit to the most devout Christian. I knew they had Abraham and the prophets, and I ventured to remark to him that "Abraham once entertained strangers, and had entertained angels unawares; and, though he might be pretty free of the honor of having an angel in his presence now, that I still trusted God would reward his hospitality as he did the patriarch." He seemed to be highly pleased at the flattering comparison I had made of him to the "father of the faithful," laughed at my conceit about the angel, and swallowed some other stories of his resemblance to the old Chaldean Bedouin.

I should have thought of my own romantic position in the

camp of a Bedouin, and prospect of a blanket of those bright stars that were glittering above me, had not the dignity of the old Bedouin; the absence of staring among the women; the silent conduct of all the men; their respect to their father; their politeness and delicacy to me; the refreshing repast of milk and eggs and warm bread they set before me; their apology, that it was all they had; their breeding, that would have adorned the table of a pacha; their quiet, restrained mirth at my failing with my fingers in getting the warm bread and eggs into my mouth without crumbling them; their fragrant Mocha coffee, and sweet perfume of their Syrian tobacco; their noble forms; their dignified and healthy frames; their tall height; their bronzed color; the *tout ensemble* of the scene,—so carried me away that I forgot myself. Then I had come among them pretending to be poor and without a *para*, though I had money secreted in my breast; pretending to be defenceless, though I had a pocket pistol; of a different religion, and yet, though late in the evening, they unhesitatingly cook me supper of their best, give me their best mat, and cover me with their best cloak, thanking God in their prayers for the opportunity to exhibit one of their sacred laws of hospitality. And when, during the whole night, after I had laid down and pretended to be asleep, I found one keeping guard all night, and renewing the fire now and then, driving the mosquitoes away from me, and doing all he could for my comfort,—I could not but feel, as I gazed up at the bright Canopus and the constellations that brighten only this clime that borders on the tropics, that God had made men to live thus; and the simple devotion of these noble Bedouins, their reverence for the patriarchs, their virtue, was as sweet an incense to the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as the

noblest chant that ever echoed through Westminster Abbey, though Handel or Beethoven were leaders—as the most gorgeous display in St. Peter's—the most favorite Christmas service in Trinity. Here, as I gazed at the bright stars, I fancied myself a young Chaldean in the tent of the sons of Shem, or a Sabean of that Ethiopia which is only a step from me now. It is so sweet an oblivion of all past—of every thing but God, patriarchs, and young creation! The silent flocks are sleeping under the bright moon; the soft air is without a drop of moisture; the camels are around; the Arabs, wrapped in their burnooses, sleeping; the moon shining in the face of the old Sheikh, which, with his long, spotless, majestic beard, was turned towards me; and I, stranger from a land thousands of miles away, whose white, pale face seemed like linen among their bronzed countenances, was falling into as sweet a slumber as, when a boy, I did after closing the window from a moonlight gaze at my own native hills. I thought of another wanderer, whom I have followed through the bright Ægean, on the shores of Spain, in Italy, through the Alps and the Rhine; and I have seen the first part of the dream:

——— "the gentle hill
Green, and of a mild declivity"—

at Annesley Hall, near Newstead Abbey, and now I was like him—a boy sprung to manhood:

"In the wilds of fiery climes had made himself a home,
And his soul drank their sunbeams;
* * * by his sleeping side
Stood camels grazing, and some goodly steeds,
And a man clad in a flowing garb, did watch the while,
While many of his tribe slumbered round:

And they were canopied by the blue sky,
So cloudless, clear, and purely beautiful,
That God alone was to be seen in heaven."

Next morning I astonished the Arab by giving him all the money I had and several of my articles, gloves, handkerchief, &c. He accompanied me again to the temple, and we explored some other passages. I read several other records not copied by either Champollion, Salt, or Wilkinson. The Arabs followed me, blessing me. Two hours after we arrived at the river and nearly opposite Gheneh. I now saw my boat on the opposite side, and after shouting some time we brought it over, and I prepared myself by a warm bath, a delightful slumber, a breakfast, and was ready for the modern town of Gheneh—such a contrast to ancient, solitary Dendera. The mind can never be too clear to appreciate the transitions of ages and localities on this stream.

CHAPTER III.

Gheneh and its bazaar.—Abyssinians.—Turco-English Consul.—Dr. Cuni.

"Sabean odors from the spicy shore
Of Araby the blest."

MILTON.

LANDING at Gheneh I walked through the bazaar; a crowd of the Red Sea boatmen were there from the port of Kosseir, with which this is connected, and through which English pass to and from India, and Arabs of Arabia have kept up their intercourse with the Nile. Many Arabs, hundreds of the Hajji pilgrims returning from and going to Mecca, here an Italian *hakim*, there a Jew or Greek, who had lost himself in this obscure land, and above all the numerous Abyssinian men and women (who may be seen hereabout in perfection) interested me. I was passing through a street which seemed made up of the Abyssinian Gwawazie or dancing girls, and a crowd of Turks were collected before a coffee-house, where a pretty one was dancing; I was invited by several to make the usual contribution of fifty or one hundred piastres, and see an exclusive performance, but I hurried back to my boat and started on.

Gheneh is a great place for the manufacturing of pipes, and some of the finest clay-pipes I ever saw were for sale at the rate of two for a penny. Here you may buy the perfumes and gems of rich Arabia, and many rare articles of India and

the isles of the Indian Sea. Dr. Cuni, a French Consul and physician, to whom I had a letter from the author of "The Wanderer," who sojourned here on his return from the far Southeast, gave me the most oriental marks of hospitality, and nothing but Thebes would have carried me away. I could not but look with interest upon his wife and bright-eyed child, that might have adorned any saloon in Paris, far removed here from the houses of European refinement, but preserving all the cultivation of polished Parisian life. The Doctor showed me a crocodile, just killed and stuffed, which was well called by him the *crocodil enorme!* for such a monster I never saw. There is an English Vice-Consul here, a Turk, but I did not see him. Taking a hasty, but most delicious Turkish bath, for which I paid the enormous sum of two piastres, and a fair wind springing up, I was on my way to Thebes. The two boats of my three English, Scotch, and Dutch friends, with whom I dined at Osiout, just now hove in sight below; and I found I had no reason to spur up Antonio, or the Arab men, for the rival spirit animated both, and they were as anxious as I was that the American colors on the Nile should excel in the race. On we sped, and I found my little boat was a famous sailer. We rounded the river here, and entered the sunny, smiling Thebaid. The boats were determined to pass me, and I had unfortunately one boatman ashore, as he had crossed from Gheneh, and passed to Aboo Girgeh, upon the west bank, to see his relatives there. I had to take him in, but it took me but a moment; as we passed a rocky point, he was ready, and jumped on board. On we went, passing Quoos, or Coos. Coos, the Apollonopolis parva, smaller city of Apollo of the Greeks, is here; and Negadeh, where was the city of Maxi-

mian, and a Coptic Bishop, and once a powerful Coptic colony, of which all travellers speak—but who would stop at them when Gebel Gournou is in sight in the distance, and we are so near mighty Thebes! Here in times of earliest Egypt Osiris lived. At Coptos were celebrated the sacred rites of Isis, and here were legends of her. It was said here she bewailed the loss of her husband Osiris. At Took, we gained a beautiful view of the mountains, and a break in the valley discovered some of the finest scenery on the Nile; and there, in the distance, is the lofty mountain of Gournou; and soon we will gain the view of Gebel Luxor. Thus, then, the object of all my aspirations, the reward of all my difficulties of travel, is attained. Thebes, Luxor, Karnac, are within less than twenty-four hours' voyage. All my spirit was, however, in the race. The boats gained upon me, but until sunset my colors were triumphant; finally, however, their boats came up. We saluted with our flags at half-mast, and in a few minutes put to the shore, where I accepted my friend's invitation to come into his boat. We passed gayly the evening before Luxor, and, while dreaming on the divan at midnight, I felt the boat stop.

The next morning I was greeted by Luxor's famed temple as I issued from the cabin. I was soon there, and could scarcely disagree with my Scotch friend, who returned to the boat with a long, sad face, saying, there was nothing *to see* but a very fine obelisk; that he thought there was something to see, but there was nothing: and, indeed, when you see Luxor, it loses much of its impressiveness from the barking dogs, and modern Turkish towns, and Governors and Gwawazie, and Arab huts, that guard every approach; and filthy Arabs about it.

But the impression, as you approach for the first time on the north side a temple of *ancient* Egypt, for I had never seen one before, and see those half-buried statues, and that obelisk, whose fellow in proud grandeur towers above the palaces, even of Napoleon, in the Place de la Concorde in Paris; when you trace that battle scene of Sesostris, defaced so by Persian vandalism; when you wind up that worn staircase and stand on the top, passing the names of Osiren and the great Rameses, seen for the first time, and look around over the wide plain of Thebes to Karnac and its city of ruins; not all you have ever read of travellers' descriptions or paintings can equal this sublime impression.

It was, as I have said, morning, and my boat lay beneath the great temple of Luxor. It was a proud moment as I hurried over the stairs, and stood before the time-worn portico. The battles of the conquering Sesostris are still sculptured on the walls; the helmeted statues are still grand. The obelisk is still beautiful, but lonely, as if the loss of its brother, which the French Emperor had carried to Paris, had tamed its pride.* I clambered to the summit of the edifice; I gazed over the plains of Thebes on the opposite side of the Nile. The statues of Memnon stand clear in the morning light. Behind, the ruins of Memnonium, so called, invite to the beautiful repository of Egyptian art. To the north are the temples and palaces of Medinet Habou, and behind them all, the mountain where sleep the queens. To the northwest lies Gournou, with its less distinct ruins, and behind El Assasif, the sacred valley of the temple of the Dair, and the tombs of the priests and

* Since writing the above at Luxor, I have again seen the obelisk of the Place de Concorde at Paris, surrounded with the paltry trappings of the *fête* of May How insignificant they seemed, and what a profanation of Luxor!

sages of old Egypt; and over that lofty mountain, is the deserted valley of Biban el Memlook and the wonderful tombs of the kings. Between them and us are the plains of Thebes; we are gazing upon it from the ancient Diospolis. Its walls, its hundred gates, its twenty thousand chariots! What we sse is all that remains. The Nile flows on as when Luxor was founded by the people who survived the flood. This barbaric structure upon which we stand has the impress of ages. The name of Sesostris is upon the walls; his conquests cover the temple. It is the least interesting of the ruins of Thebes; and yet, when you look at its single obelisk transported to Paris, towering, as it does, above the temples there, who cannot feel how noble was the aim of the ancient Egyptians! We mount the other side of the temple; my Champollion's Grammar and Dictionary are faithful, and I can read the hieroglyphics, the secrets of more than thirty centuries. The architecture strikes you as rude, like the Etruscan architecture of Italy; like the rude works of a primeval age, the first endeavor of a race to build structures. It is more rude than Medinet Habou, or even Southern Dair, and only the structure at Gournou, which bears the name of King Osiren, the father of Sesostris, can at all compare with it in antiquity.

But the temple of Luxor, whose columns so strike you from the ruins, is too well described for me to say any thing new here. Engravings and paintings have made it familiar. It is beautiful when seen from the river, but disgusting from the huts about it; half of the sculptures are covered by wretched Arab huts, where you gain admission through the miserable entrances. Dogs are barking at you for being a Christian, and women barking at you for backsheesh; taken all together, it spoils the effect of the whole. There is none

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EL VXSOR.

of that noble solitude, that sublimity of desolation, which makes Karnac such a stupendous poem: and imprints it in characters of sublimity ever on your soul.

Through Arab huts and barking dogs, and not less troublesome vendors of antiques, we hurry to the still noble columns of the great temple of Luxor. How magnificent the capitals! How perfect, still, the chambers! Here in one is the birth of Osiren, who founded it; there the conquests of a Pharaoh. Part of the temple one side of an Arab town; the other, fragmentary chambers, distant from each other. Fancy would group them together, and give some idea of the original vastness of the edifice. The columns still show its grandeur,—the space it occupies, its vastness. The palace was built by Osiren, the father of Sesostris.

Karnac, Temple of Ammon.

——"till within soar
Of towering eagles, to all the birds he seems
A Phœnix, gazed on by that sole bird,
When to inshrine his relics in the sun's
Bright temple, to Egyptian Thebes,
He flies."

Milton.

But we had seen from the temple of Luxor, the distant temples and obelisks of the city of Karnac, standing a mile from us in all the distinctness of a noble modern city; and yet all we saw was of Ancient Egypt, and a city three thousand years old. Among the groves of date-trees, and in that wide, rich plain, terminated by the beautiful Arabian mountains, it has slept for thirty centuries. What a contemplation!

Those forests of doom palms have seen how many countless generations of Moslems beneath their shade, and yet how many generations of groves have grown and decayed in sight of the city of the great temple!

We are riding from Luxor to the city of Karnac. We are on the road where on each side stood the sphinxes, gods, the whole way. There are a few here yet, some expressive in their lion body; for their strength is the only attribute they possess. Their heads, their intelligence, their divinity is gone. The subdued body speaks only of Egypt's conquered gods.

I stood before one of the porticoes of Karnac. The gods are there: Osiris in dignity, Isis in rich, gorgeous beauty, the conquering king, the gifts, the rites, the offerings, the acceptance by the gods, Egypt's oft-told tale.

In the Meneptheum, the figures are still distinct and deep. The conquests of Meneptha the First, are there. Time's impress is clear.

In the grand court of the temple of Karnac, I realized one of the sublimest visions of my youthful fancy. A court of ruins, the single fallen column, the unbroken silence, the sculptured wall, the broken colossal statues, the ruins around, above, beneath. I stood indeed among the ruins of empires of the world's youth. In the distant columns of the awful temple, an owl was hooting. I sat upon a pillar and gazed. It was Byron's dream. My Arab with his spear and flowing beard completed the picture.

Among the forests of lofty, beautiful columns in the great hall of the temple of Karnac, I passed hours. It is beyond description. The names of the heroes and kings are numberless, the scenes on the walls, the colossal sculptures, the pas-

toral scenes, the battles, the perspectives, the halls of columns, some fallen on each other,—how vain to enumerate—to describe! I have seen it by sunrise. I have been there at mid-day, at sunset, and by the light of the pale moon. I have scared the jackal from the ruins, and heard the hyena howl, and among the things of beauty that will ever be in my remembrance as a joy for ever, is Karnac, by moonlight.

Karnac! The mind recoils from a description, and prefers to say nothing! The day spent there on our way up was so glorious, my solitary sojourn at sunset and in the evening such; the first view from far-off Luxor (two miles) of a city of ruins, a forest of obelisks and temples and antique columns—the whole approach—so grand, the effect so overpowering, and the solitude so magnificent, the Hall of Columns so stupendous, that I dare not venture on detailed description.

It is a conception answering the highest idea of art; *it is perfect in its kind;* it is the grandeur of desolation—so complete, like that "*circle*" of beauty in the soul pictures of Guido Rene, in the Holy Family of Correggio, in the cartoons of *the* masters. A perfect completeness, it lies, unexcelled in majesty, in extent, in those fertile plains of the Thebaid. A greater traveller than I am, says, "There is nothing like it in the world."

I threw away my Champollion; I forgot its details, despised its history, knew no story of Jupiter Ammon; but for hours, leaning on the stones before that forest of three hundred and sixty columns, contemplated the grandeur of the scene. I had seen nought of Thebes as yet, but stayed, and stayed, and revisited it four times, and never fully drank in the glorious poetry, never filled my soul with the true "genius of the place." It is awful! overwhelming! overpowering!

But the time came when I rehearsed all its stories of Osirtasen and the Pharaohs of the patriarchs—the Rameses, the Pharaohs of the Mosaic period—of Sesostris, of Shishak, of the Ptolemies, and Alexander. And when No-Ammon, with all its poetry of ruin, and all its glory of history, seemed grander and nobler than ever; the temple of Ammon and Jupiter almost as grand as when all this Diospolis was in her highest splendor, and those broken sphinxes around were perfect; those painted halls fresh from the pencil, and the idols crowned with garlands, and the temples filled with vessels of gold and silver, and crowds stood in those stately groves to wait for the virgin clothed in white to be led forth a victim to Father Nile:—When No-Ammon told me, in her ruin, in her history, in the painted hieroglyphics on her walls, the confirmation of the historians and prophets of a people, whom God chose to be a scourge for the cruelties and the crimes which, among so much splendor, Thebans allowed, to pollute themselves; I felt the true beauty of the work over whose ruin, with folded arms and bended stature, I stood mournfully musing.

To view Karnac historically, you must begin with the ancient granite structure between the Propylon on the east and the *Hypostyle* hall of grand columns. This, built by Osirtasen I., 1920 B. C.; or, according to Bunsen, 1000 before Moses, or 2573 B. C.; was added to by Thothmes, 1710* B. C., whose names may be found upon the walls. The space between had four obelisks, of which one is erect, and the rest fallen and in fragments. Passing the Propylon and remains of two statues of Rameses II., we pass an obelisk thirty feet high, which (Champollion says) was erected by a *lady;* when ap-

* We use the chronology of the Septuagint, remarking that Bunsen and his school differ many hundred years.

pears the wall of old stones, the granite gateway, in which you still see the place for the kings. We mounted this, and looked down into a deep place; the granite is finely polished and set.

The granite *Sanctuary*, after the grand Hall of Columns, is one of the finest parts of Karnac in its preservation. The ceiling is as blue, and its golden stars as distinct, as if painted yesterday. The cartouches are beautifully colored, and the most conspicuous have the beetle-marked name of Thothmes III. Names of travellers from all parts of the world cover this beautiful hall. It is built of Syene granite, highly polished: writers have dwelt upon the infamous and voluptuous uses of this sanctuary; the obscene pictures and rites I leave to them. Suffice it to say, that Lepsius has carried away some of the most conspicuous of them to decorate the museum of his royal master in Berlin, where they will doubtless form a cabinet, like the secret museum in the Borbonico from Pompeii at Naples, to amuse the royal, refined purity of the Prussian Prince, as does the other that of *King Bomba Lazzaroni*. The Sanctuary or Treasure-house took its name from the discoveries and excavations of Lord Belmore. Some of the oldest granite blocks are after this; and you descend deep into a grass-grown and low, seeming sanctuary, where I saw a huge serpent, and avoided the rank grass that grows there. A long forest of ruins—temples; shafts of columns, capitals, end in a huge gateway of gray granite stretching to the north, where you find the finest sculptures of the Greek era, and whose lofty proportions, and elegant devices and hieroglyphics, tell the once majestic extent of the famed temple of Jupiter Ammon. Pedestals of two obelisks we pass, and another miniature hall of the Grand Hall, but which is said to have been its model, called the Chamber of the Kings,

and of great antiquity, carries us to a portico commenced by Alexander, and unfinished; and after, some Egyptian columns, twelve of which are standing, carry us to the site of a Christian church; from the roof you may get a fine view, and form some idea of what was the great temple of Jupiter Ammon. Below was a court filled up with huge heaps of stone, where were two sitting statues of Thothmes, and a fortified gateway, by which the inhabitants of Karnac on the southeast approached. Far in the distance towered the mountains; west of this, to the river, were the walls of two temples having the name of Rameses II., with a little grove of trees between them, and some sphinxes.

The colossal sitting figures of white, which are in a direct line with the central avenue leading to the gate of Shishak, are of beautiful sculpture, and so perfect that I thought they were of marble, and Greek art of the time of Alexander. They represent a naked figure, with a sort of kilt about the loins, and a girdle around the waist; they are formed of a single block of white crystallized sulphate of lime. The other statues are similar, but constructed either of higher-polished black syenite, or of red pudding-stone, like those at Gournou. The names on the accompanying walls show dates four thousand years ago.

Here, by this lake, were palaces surrounded by houses of brick, stuccoed within and without, inclosed by courts, vineyards, and gardens, and adorned with alcoves, fish-ponds, statues, and painted obelisks.

Through a still standing avenue of sphinxes among groves, we pass to another field of ruins belonging to the old city of Karnac.

One of the most interesting parts of Karnac is perhaps the

least visited. It lies to the east, toward the Arabian Chain, and is called the temple of Typhon :* the huge idol dwarf pollutes it with his image. Near is an artificial lake, extending around, and inclosing on three sides the ground where once doubtless stood a palace. Now there stands there but a court of lions' statues, and statues in black granite, crumbling away among images of sphinxes and female statuary. Around this the artificial lake reflected in clear water the ruins of an ancient temple, and palace of old Egypt. Upon this you may shoot your game, and fancy what Karnac was. Statues of sphinxes, with women's heads, fill the plain around. The temple of Typhon stands but a short distance off between us and the grand temple of Karnac. Who can gaze here, and not feel the genius of the place?

The nearest part of the temple towards you is that of the time of the Greek Emperors, where stood the two still perfect Greek statues in white limestone.

What must have been this lake when, surrounded by palaces, crowds of happy creatures gathered in these courts, and wound among this rich forest of sphinxes and lions' statues, among the sculptures of females, and rare mystical monsters? Such was this sweet lake as now: this was a garden—then youths and maidens were here:

> "In drapery like woven snow
> These nymphs were clad; and each below
> The rounded bosom loosely wore
> A dark blue zone or bandelet,
> With little silver stars all o'er
> As are the stars at midnight set.

* Typhon, the hideous dwarf—a devil; he strikes you as a devil. See Leviticus xvi.; Agazil; also Bahr, Ewald, Hengstenberg, Tholuck.

While in their tresses braided through,
  Sparkled that flower of Egypt's lakes,
The silvery lotus, in whose hue
  As much delight the young moon takes
As doth the day god to behold,
The lofty bean flower's buds of gold;
And as they gracefully went round
The worshipped bird, some to the beat
Of Castanets, some to the sound
Of the shrill Sistrum timed their feet,
While others at each step they took,
A tinkling chain of silver shook."

And thus it is, one is ever thrown back upon the past here. To be in the present is beautiful, fascinating. Who can look upon these Arabian mountains from Karnac, their picturesque grandeur against the lovely sky, and the rich fertility of the intervening landscape, without thanking God for its beauty? And who can see that sunset, standing on Karnac, near the hills that encircle Thebes,

"While Nilus rolls his crystal way between,"

without thrills of joy such as few feel in their lives,—and this pure, glad atmosphere, of the Thebaid! where is there aught like it?

To-day is market-day in Luxor. Go there, would you see modern Turkish life in Egypt. There you may view the Governor, the haughty Janizary, the reckless Arnaout soldier, the white-robed Arab, the Gwawazie beseeching you to enter, the thousand costumes of this peculiar land. And yet who would accept a Turkish governor's invitation, when he has an evening to spend in Karnac?

The obelisks, the one grand, and beautiful in its distinctness,

and another still standing, and those scattered broken around, bear the names of the Pharaohs,* and one says it was erected by the king Thothmes II. to his sister, Amense. He was the predecessor of Pharaoh of the Exodus. Perchance this commemorated the noble Egyptian dame who saved the Hebrew child and Jewish lawgiver.

On we go through propylea and porticoes of this immense ruined temple. Here are the names, there the deeds of the different Pharaohs.

Climb those walls, and look into that deep granite pit, through those huge walls. This was the sanctuary; the Persian conqueror destroyed it, the Macedonian Philip vowed to rebuild it. Alexander fulfilled the vow. Here are the walls and columns of white marbles, that *men* are now burning to make into lime.

Farther on, we have gone through the ruins of a city:—and this was but one temple. Descend into the deep grass where lurk the serpents, and the hyenas find refuge, and follow the still brilliantly told stories of the Egyptian kings. Thence to the grand propylon, to the most eastern side.

Turn to the east, and clamber those hills of rubbish, and gaze on the noble plain; and to the south, and see the length of ruins you have passed through, and further look at another propylon and the most southern portico, and its fine sculptures, the sphinxes that led northward to the river.

Come back to the ruins and go to the north, through another vast, ruined propylon, with fallen colossi on the other side.

Go further on, where, before a portico of deep sculptured, beautiful granite, stand two statues in spotless forms, worthy

* See Champollion's Grammaire Egyptienne, p. 277.

of being called Apollo's, and whose sculptures tell the glory of the Macedonian rule in Egypt, and you have not half seen the temple of Karnac; and when you have seen all and filled up with your fancy, much, you have not then half seen the temple of Karnac.

Through the bright sunlight of this burning day, I have been among the stupendous and mysterious records of this once proud temple of Karnac—a city of ruins still.

The innermost part of the propylon is filled with travellers' names. Here Englishmen from India record their names with Americans from St. Louis. The names of the Thothmes cover the walls as you advance; how dark, how time-worn, and yet how magnificent! The granite sanctuary so fast crumbling away, and yet so old, built a *thousand* years before Moses,* is overpowering.

The Palace Temple increases the Christian's satisfaction. Here no Christian can come and not feel that his faith is on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and is from God. Here are the conquests of *Sethos;* and his greatest conquests sculptured in the highest artistic beauty, as distinct on these walls as if done yesterday. I have distinctly made out the conquests of the Shepherds. The hieroglyphics above his figure in the chariot are an interesting story.†

After, follow very beautiful sculptures; the story is Sethos routing the Arvadites. Sethos is also represented routing the Scythians, whose Coptic name in enchorial, answering to the hieroglyphics, is the same as the Hebrew; a representation is seen also of the captives of the Arvadites, whom Sethos has discomfited. Sethos is represented in a car drawn by beautiful horses, routing the Jebusites.

* At least, so says Bunsen. † Champ. Dictionnaire Egyptienne.

Sethos is also represented routing the Canaanites. His victories over Canaan are recorded. "He desolates the land of Canaan," says one inscription. All these, I believe, are spoken of by Osborn, but what an advantage to find such a proof and illustration of Scripture as the whole history of his conquest presents! Here are shown the conquest of Sesonchis over Rehoboam. In the Palace Temple in the next picture Sethos is routing the Σωϛ, an unknown nation; these are supposed to be the Canaanites. He next is routing the Syrians, and his triumphs are splendid; afterwards the Arvadites are routed. The additions of Rameses the Great follow next.*

Passing from the obelisk to the propylon, we find on the walls of the hall, a representation of two ram-headed boats, with the sacred ark in procession. On the south side these sculptures are beautiful. After the battle scene on this side, the king and his prisoners are returning to the Nile, which is marked by crocodiles.

King Osiren is dragging prisoners before the Theban trinity. A hawk is hovering over a human sacrifice; and among the lists of the countries captured, are Mesopotamia, Bahrien, and Joudahmelek, kingdom of the Jews; a hero killing a chief with a spear, like Hector and Achilles. A people of Jewish physiognomy are storming a fort.

The story of Shishak is represented here, but only three captives bound to a stake remain; we leave that to the "proofs of Scripture-prophecy from the monuments." Among the names of places conquered, are Canaan, Megiddo, Kingdom of Judah, Valley of Hinnom, Petra, the dukes of Edom, Bethlehem, (Birch,) House of Millo, (1 Kings, ix. 15,) City of Hebron, (Num. xxx. 22,) also the names of the god Bel, (see 1 Kings xviii. 27,) Astarte, &c.

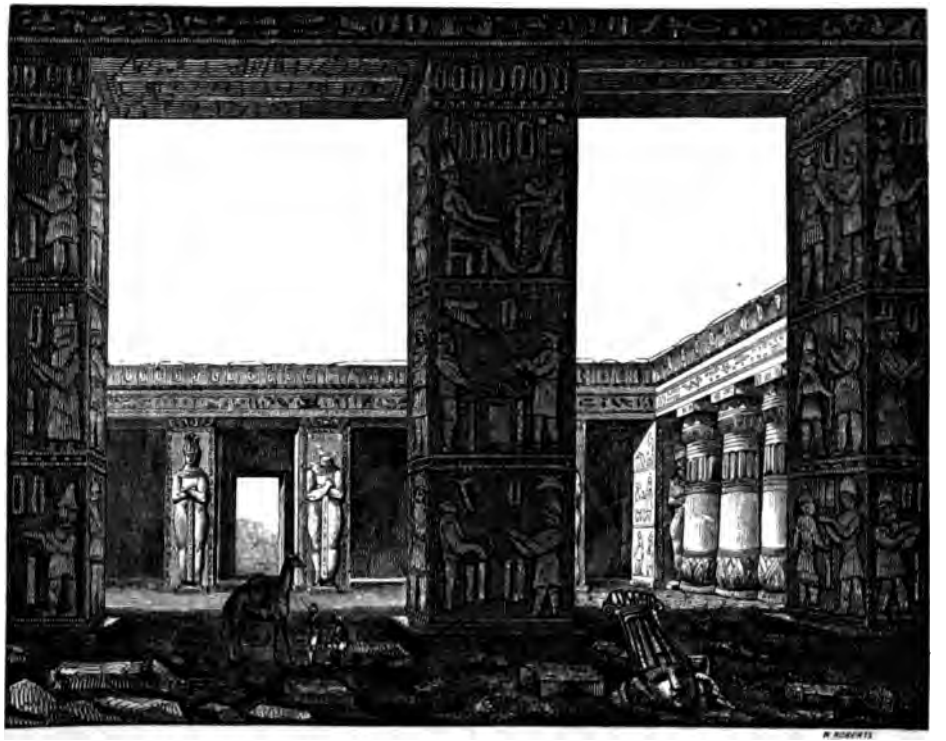
* See Grammaire Egyptienne, p. 511.

CHAPTER IV.

West Thebes.—Medinet Habou.—The first small temple, and its histories.—The second larger temple—the Roman part.—The Christian church—palace—temple of Thothmes I. and Thothmes II.—Thothmes Mœris.—The palace residence of Rameses Meiamoum.

I LEAVE to the pages of Murray's Handbook, Conder's Egypt, Miss Martineau, and the numerous writers who were my guides, the description of this beautiful ruin of Egyptian art; and those who would satisfy themselves by mathematical proof, I refer to Champollion's *Grammaire* and *Dictionnaire* for the translation of the inscriptions, names, and dates.

Thothmes I. was the original founder, and his temple remains. Thothmes II. and Thothmes III. continued the work; whose names and cartouches are still colored very distinctly, though the rooms are so low that you must stoop to enter. Built in the time of Joseph, you look upon this part with interest. Champollion, in his "Egypt under the Pharaohs," and his "Letters," has dwelt upon this part. The three courts of the magnificent palace erected by Rameses III., (the same, according to Diodorus, with Mendes or Mœris;) the historical *bas-relief* battle scenes; the portico, adytum—inner temple dedicated to Osiris; the Tank, and lion-headed statue of Isis; the splendid battle scenes, boat processions; priests recording offerings to the gods, and victims; the procession of the Ark; the chains of sacred "keys of the Nile;" the lion-attended



Court in Temple of Medinet Habou, Thebes

Rameses in battle; the lion hunt; the naval fight on the outside; the Birket Habou, or Lake of the Dead; the rubbish-covered ruins,—have all been described again and again. But where can one end the description of this fine temple, which has records of the Pharaohs,* Ptolemies, Cæsars, and Christians? which latter covered the walls with mud, and erected a church, whose pillars still stand.

The architecture of Medinet Habou is so grand, the paintings so gorgeous, the colors so perfect, the battle scenes so distinct, the histories and monarchs so interesting, I could not but admire the temple. Turning to the north, we left the grand court where the Christian church stood, and ascended some steps standing on the top of the temple. What a stupendous view! Thebes stood before us, and we were in the most properly Theban structure. Shamy and Damy were to the northeast, in the middle of the plain; the lofty mountains in our rear; and the far distant ones, that towered to the east behind Karnac, bounded the unequalled view; and Nile, flowing on as she has ever flowed, giving wealth and luxuriance around.

Again, from our boat, moored on the west side, I gallop on these fine horses of Thebes, with our guide, over to Medinet Habou. I entered the palace of Medinet Habou.† The gods at the entrance are carved exquisitely out of the light brown stone. The Theban triad, Ammon, Mouth, Chons—Osiris, Anubis, all are there. I stood and gazed out of a window. What a scene! The figures so royal! There is a queen sitting before her husband, the king Osiren, who is coying with her;—a family picture of the Pharaohs. Here was the win-

* Champollion's *Grammaire*, pp. 321, 329.

† Ibid., pp. 251, 289, 290, 311, 366.

dow where the kings and queens have leaned and gazed out, on so many a bright sunset evening, over this plain. How it annihilates three thousand years to stand here, in this royal palace! The oriel window in Kenilworth, where Leicester used to gaze on the plain—*that* seems old; so does the Bourg Schloss castle and its window of a German baron, on the mount above Baden. But here! in the palace of a Pharaoh! to see his love scenes, his domestic scenes, his portraits! It is a tribute to the eternity of art,

"For the artist never dies."

The floor is broken down, but you can distinguish where the second story is, where this chamber stood, with its window. Others of the chambers are uninjured.

The fallen pillars strewn through the wide and beautiful courts; their capitals, of the highest architectural beauty, covered with sculpture and polished; the grandeur of its passages, colonnades, battle scenes; and the ancient palace temple of Pharaoh, attract you. But still I was ever called back to the palace residence of Rameses Meiamoum, whose painted ceiling, of an azure ground, was studded by golden stars, almost as fresh as Roman Dendera. The distinctness of the sculptures, the warlike deeds of this descendant of Sesostris, please you. True, the ram-headed deity, Ammon Ra, the first of the Theban triad at the gateway, detracts from the beauty of the effect, (upon which Mrs. Romer dilates;) but who could not, like her, forget it in the sculptures and processions, so well preserved and so old?

Medinet Habou has a Christian temple in Greek style within its walls; but what is even that, with its Greek columns, to the testimonies on its walls in favor of Scripture

truth? The battle scenes go round the whole, fully answering Richardson's and Conder's descriptions, which were my guides through it. Among the most interesting is Rameses smiting the Hittites. He appears shooting them with his arrows, while the name above relates the story: "He smote them." The priest is above, recording the number of the captives; the hands cut from each are falling in a shower at his feet. "The hearts of the Hittites faint within them, for Rameses pursues them as a young lion pursues his prey. Give yourselves to mirth; I am to Egypt what the god Mendon has been; I have vanquished the companies. Ammon Ra, my father, subdued the whole world under my feet, and I am king on the throne for ever."

For other inscriptions, refer to Champollion.

Manetho confirms this, and also the inscriptions which say he drove them to the bounds of Syria.

The *Memnonium* I visited next.

After riding round the grand entrance, or propylon, I went leisurely to exploring the battle scene on the river side. From this magnificent piece I turned, and rode my horse to the fallen statue of Osmandyas. Its grandeur, the beautiful polish of the black Syenite granite, the deep-cut cartouche upon the arm, the broken foot—how grand! how startling!

The next, properly the palace of Rameses, how beautiful!* It represents Sesostris's conquests, and those of Sethos, his brother, and predecessor. Entering, you see that magnificent fabric called the hall of Osiris, four colossal figures of whom form the columns;—those of Ipsamboul, can scarce be grander. Afterwards you enter a passage, passing through broken

* Among the conquests, Sethos, his brother, is represented as having taken Punon, a station of the Israelites, near Mount Hor. (Numbers xxxiii. 43, 44.)

torsos, some standing, some fallen down, of beautiful sculpture and proportion, displaying art and preservation that no Parthenon can boast of. How splendid a ruin!

On through this temple of art, the victorious hero, the builder sovereign of the palace is ever before you; now himself receiving, now offering gifts to the gods, who are sculptured so finely: and now you enter a building of light stone structure, and finer sculpture. The victorious conqueror is here too. He sits, with his queen by his side, on the right hand of the opposite wall as you enter, but he has returned from a richer, a more genial clime, than even this sunny Said—from the region of tropical Asia. His captives have a Perso-Indian head-dress, and his companions are bearing trees, whose thick foliage, and hanging fruits, show the rich luxuriance of an equatorial growth. A cameleopard, as finely sculptured as if by an artist of the Zoological Gardens, forms part of the spoils of the conquered India; and the priests of Thoth stand with tablets, recording his victories, and the number of victims he has slain, on the fruit of a tree; and his pencil has half painted his cartouche.

And that door, where led that? Take up Diodorus; he describes all you have seen—battles, statues, colossi, and all: and what stood here in that door, leading toward the mountain? There, where ruins are fast disappearing, stood that glorious library of Thebes, and the Grecian coming hither, like us, a traveller, found written over the famous threshold, inscribed in golden letters, (would that it were written there in bright diamonds!) the magical words:

"Medicine for the mind—pharmacy for the soul."

What a joy that here princes, priests, sages, and their

scholars, hierophant and neophyte, came to consult the Physician of the soul—that bright letters were the glory of palaces of Egypt three thousand years ago. Where is that library, that refreshed the intellect of the court of Rameses the Great? The wise men of his realm were great still, as their figures show, in all that is noble of race: for the deluge had not long left the world green, and the patriarchal nobility of the young creation had not wholly degenerated. Where are those treasures of the intellect of Thebes and Diospolis? Alas! all gone. Perchance they formed a bonfire for Cambyses without the ancestral halls; perchance, like the Alexandrian treasures, they lit a Mohammedan bath. The rituals written here are preserved only in coffins of the dead, or give renown to an European museum; while coffin, ritual, mummy, and all, form the fuel to prepare many an Arab's dinner: and the noble papyri, the genealogies, the records of the high and beautiful civilization of these antique and once gorgeous palaces, are all gone.

Would I picture a proper device for Egypt, it should be the priest of Thoth, with reed and torch inverted, gazing at this desolate ruin, where the Grecian philosophic traveller found wisdom, and "balsam for the soul."

With a heart too full for utterance, I turned back, and mounted my horse. You shed tears by the tomb of a loved one, but if they pour down your cheeks here, it is from mingled sorrow at the desolation, and exultation at the thought that you are made in the image of a race that was so great, so civilized, and knew so well the powers of the mind and the secrets of the soul thirty centuries ago.

From such a past, and its contrasts with the battle scenes, we turn away, for its true glory redeems the blood-marked

victories of Sesostris's conquering car. For the value of art, we sigh at the foolish childishness of Cambyses in destroying so much, and wonder that so much remains where he attempted to destroy the whole. It is a noble, a beautiful work; so thought Siculus, so thinks Warburton—so thinks every one: we would as soon attempt to describe the "Venus de Medici."

Such a beautiful architectural wreck is that magnificent pile the Memnonium! From the majestic portal that faces the statues of Memnon and the Nile, through its whole extent, till you reach the lofty rock entrance in the rear; from the battles to the victories; they tell of triumphs that put to shame Napoleon, and show the ridiculous vanity of a conqueror, whose energy claims admiration, but whose cruelty and vanity are but ill redeemed by such beautiful art. Do the noble Colossus, in its breadth excelling the height of four ordinary men; the sieges, the astronomical figures, which tell the date, 1322 B. C.; the offerings to Mendes; the six courts, and richly sculptured chambers; the remains of the 200 columns which once stood here, some of which still stand, and others adorn the museums and galleries of the world; the crumbling Propylon, of which two hundred feet are still entire; the Dromos, or Portico; the Osiris Court, and its statues of the god with crossed sceptre.; the basaltic figures and gigantic statues of Sesostris; the Pronaos, and Great Hall, with its nine compartments, its mythological processions, its offerings to the Theban Triad, its chambers with the budding lotus capitals, its ark processions of the priests, its ceiling of stars and astronomical processions and sacred boats, sacred birds, winged globe, crocodiles; Nepthis, and the mysterious emblems of the Hierophants:—do all these at all redeem the

STATUES OF MEMNON, THEBES.

vanity or cruelty of the great hero, who has been so often historied? Such was the vanity of conquest then, such the animal pursuit of war, such the beastly triumph of victory. Will the world ever give hope of advancement, while such passions and their rewards mark distinction among the race? Sesostris conquered India, Napier the Scinde, and Russia the Hungarians. It is all the same; whether India, China, or Mexico;—a *bas-relief*, a *painting*, a statue—the conqueror sitting in "*glory*," the victim handcuffed at his feet, a priest of Thoth, or Isis, writing his victories on the tree, a Congress passing a "vote of thanks," an assembly "decreeing that he has deserved well of his country," a Parliament feeing a poet laureate, or a Queen giving a baronetcy, earldom, or the garter; it is all the same;—this is that "glory," which those who think of a Howard, in his labors of love, view as only the blood of history's shambles.

How beautiful to stand at sunrise before the statue of Memnon! Your fancies are so rich, and you can find music in your soul there at such an hour, if none come from Memnon. Here you see,—leaping from your horse's saddle upon the pedestal,—the testimonies of the lady friends of Hadrian, and many travellers, in Greek and Latin, who heard the voice. Perhaps you modestly cut a letter of your own name on the calf of the leg; perhaps, like Sir Gardner Wilkinson, you have the courage to climb to the breast, to see the rock where the priest concealed himself who kept up the sound, and the rock which sounds like *struck brass*. I contented myself with striking the leg, and fancying it had a ringing sound; but that is mere moonshine, for

"Hushed is that strain;"

and Memnon's music but lives in the poetry that in every age has been written upon its note. Strabo, Ælius Gallus, and Diodorus, were happy men, and they were not like us from America, who came further, and fared worse.

The usual ideas come up here—the time-worn statues; what kingdoms have they outlasted, what revolutions outlived, defying time and the Persian destroyer! Continents have been settled from bound to bound; worlds discovered, civilized, ruined—still they stand historians of the ages and the *æons*. Coming from a land which has in no fabric, at least that I have seen, a stone or timber that belonged not to a quarry or forest three hundred years ago, the very idea of these statues made my soul widen and widen, and my imagination stretch so, to think they were of time and history, and yet only half of time; and this earth's history: and then I thought of the world's stars and their histories; and then I thought of long, long agone creation—and then eternity—and God! And Memnon's music then seemed *spheral* music, for it brought me to God by conclusion and comparison; and I was never satisfied till I stood before the statue of Memnon: and now as I sat on my horse, and thought what it had been there, and oft since in my mind, low whisperings came to my soul,

> "from that immortal sea
> That brought us hither;"
> "I saw the children play upon the shore,
> And heard its mighty waters rolling evermore."

And standing here, we can picture to ourselves more than elsewhere the grandeur of ancient Thebes, with her hundred gates; she who sent forward to the Trojan war the hosts of the "*nigrantis Memnonis*."

Here stood the two statues at the entrance to a grand court of statues, that extended to the Memnonium under the mountain. The whole plain to the mountain has fragments of statues, all lying in a line.

And the road to the river, where lies our boat, and over which we are just to spur our horses, had, doubtless, another court. This was the royal street of Thebes, mentioned in the papyri of ancient Thebes. What was this in the time of Osiren and Memnon! What a field of buildings and temples you looked over, towards the palace of the descendants of Rameses and Sesostris, now the ruins of Medinet Habou! How gloriously rode the triumphing kings along that royal way, as they returned from the conquests! How many answering sounds around met Memnon's music at the morning light! How desolate the plain now! How many ages of desolation since then!

From Medinet Habou you proceed north to the valley of Hadj Achmed, and in a side of the mountain are a few tombs of the queens. The way is wild, strewn with rocks, and filled with precipices; the mountain gaps of a sterile and desert appearance. In the most terrible gorges of Switzerland or Scotland I have never seen nature so awful as in this pass. It would be a fit place for a Pandemonium to be laid in. Here the robber might well find his home; and our guide's spear, which he now and then turned towards us, brandishing, seemed a reliance. I mentioned to my friend that I had left my pistols, and he replied that it was the very time we needed them.

In the valley of Hadj Achmed lie the tombs of the queens. These we visited, after Medinet Habou and the southern Dair. The tomb of Queen *Taosri*, who married *Sethos*, first king of the nineteenth dynasty, we explored, and it is one of the finest

in Thebes. Most of the monuments speak of that king's inheritance in her right. Champollion quotes many of the inscriptions in his Grammar. This was 1269 B. C. Sethos erected the avenue of sphinxes at Karnac, and the small chambers of the front area, and was predecessor to Osiren II. and Amenophis.

Among the most distinguished, is that of *Amunmeit*, or *Amun-tmei*, daughter of Amunoph.

The tomb of Queen Tayri, or Teari, is shown. I also entered one of the wife of Amunoph III., and also a tomb of the favorite daughter of Rameses V. The tombs are not satisfactory, as you have to stoop even when in the best part, and they are like the catacombs of Alexandria. They have been injured by fire. The painting is not fresh, as in Biban-el-Memlook. In the tomb of Queen Theti is some interest.*

The tombs of the priests lie in the valley of El Assassif, which you see from the mountain precipice above the valley of Biban-el-Memlook, stretching below to the south of the temple of northern Dair, and in the way to the Memnonium. They are made up of the private sepulchres of the rich Thebans, the largest and finest of which is that of the celebrated priest and prophet Petamenoph and his family; his name is at Medinet Habou.

The pitfalls all along, in what was the necropolis of ancient Thebes, and where modern Thebes finds her fuel in the mummy cases and papyri chambers cut in the rock, ornamented with fine paintings, show manners and customs which you do not see in the tombs of the kings. Some of these are highly illustrative of Scripture; and Hengstenberg, Osborn, and others, have dwelt upon them. Some of the entrances

* See Champollion's Grammaire Egyptienne, pp. 276, 408, 394, 357, 404.

are very perfect—cut in the rock, and ornamented with paintings and sculptures; and in some you have to enter *à la Belzoni.* Here you may unroll mummies and read their history: and very fine ones are found here, though the difficulty is, to get them through the custom-house. The scenes in some are finely depicted—the threshing and hunting scenes.

And the thousand marks of the nothingness of men is so exemplified here!—a Pharaoh's ribs cooking an Arab breakfast!

"To what strange uses do we come at last!"

The subject is not pleasant, and has been over-written.

The small temple of Isis behind the Memnonium was considered by travellers of the last decade to be the oldest monument in Thebes;—this, and the granite sanctuary in Karnac. This temple is really beautiful and perfect. It is approached by a mountain passage. Several pits are to be seen near. It is a mile from Medinet Habou. Numerous ruins may be seen on the way to it, all along the plain.

Gournou is considered by many to contain some of the oldest monuments in Thebes. The sculptures, for the most part, bear the name of Osiren. Colossal statues of Rameses II. and of other monarchs, and fragments of other statues, are scattered throughout the plain. The most striking ruin is that of Aerebek, the architecture of which is in the same style as Medinet Habou. The columns are made of lotus-reeds bound together; and the names of Meneptha I. and Osiren are scattered over them. This style of architecture adorns the oldest ruins in Thebes. The pronaos has like piazzas of three columns each; and on the walls, which are crumbling away, figures of Osiris with his scourge and crook in his hand, the

hatchet, the ark, the lotus fruit, the winged globe, the serpent, fine bas-reliefs, offerings to the deities, among whom is Ammon Ra, the ram-headed deity, from which we suppose that Jupiter Ammon was worshipped here, as also at Karnac. Here was the hall of assembly of ancient Thebes. Here the Theban senate discussed the policy of government, receiving the decrees of the hierarchy, who governed here, as well as in the temple of Jupiter Ammon. The ruin, when seen by day, appeared simple and beautiful; and afterwards, when returning by moonlight, at midnight, from the tombs of the kings, the pale light threw shadows through its halls, wrapping the dim figures and names in a splendor, which accorded well with their antiquity and obscurity.

Near these ruins lies the beautiful village of Gournou, which, among the Arab villages of Egypt, is perhaps the most attractive. It is extremely well built, and surrounded by fertile groves, like the ruins in the midst of a plain of luxuriant corn-fields, and fields of as fertile crops and fruits as when Osiren had his palace residence here, three thousand years ago.

A part of Gournou, which is fronted by the pillars of lotus reed, it is said was built by Menephthah I., and his son, Rameses the Great. One of the inscriptions, "Menephthah Barei, son of the Sun, constructed this habitation for years." Here Menephthah offers flowers to the Theban Triad.*

We visited next the temple Dair, which in its construction by the Queen Amunmeitgori, tells some interesting histories of Egypt.

Just under the lofty precipice, which is above the Biban-el-Memlook, and from which one of the most awful prospects

* See Grammaire Egyptienne, p. 441, 159.

in the world may be seen—I mean the deserted solitude of the valley of tombs behind, and the magnificent desolation and fertility combined of the plain of Thebes in front—lies the temple of Dayr el Bayr, or the "Temple to the North." I have already spoken of the ruined avenue of sphinxes which led to it from the Memnonium; near it is the Σηκος, or sacred inclosure, of one of the most ancient of temples. It was supposed to communicate with the tombs of the kings, and Dr. Yates says with the tomb of Sammis. Dr. Richardson considers it, with the small temple of Isis behind the Memnonium, to be one of the most ancient fabrics in Thebes. At the end of the avenue of sphinxes formerly stood some obelisks, which you can barely trace.

The gateway of the temple is of fine architecture, and in several of the chambers there are granite tablets, or *steles*, which have been described by Champollion.

On the way to the ruins of Gournou are fragments of a colossal statue, formerly, as it is supposed, of Rameses II. The whole way is strewn with fragments of statues.

Returning from Gournou by moonlight, with the guide, while galloping along the desert, near what the rubbish and bricks denoted as the site of a ruined town, in a most desolate and dreary cemetery, with a few turban headstones, my horse started at a fierce growl, or snarl, from an animal before him. Riding on, I saw a horrid sight; a wild dog had just been feeding on a carcass of what seemed in the moonlight to have been the body of a newly buried Arab, but it might have been the carcass of some other animal: and this sight, so common in the desert outskirts of Egypt, would hardly have attracted me or the horse, had not another more ferocious beast just approached, and whose glaring eyes, and whining, screeching

howl, told me that it was the hideous hyena. Two vultures and some buzzards were shrieking above, and stooping down at intervals. The dog was scarcely willing to relinquish his unhallowed feast, even for so hideous a visitor; and, while peeling the flesh from the leg, "as ye peel the fig when the fruit is fresh," the hyena, snapping at him, seized another part of the carcass. At this hideous struggle, horrid as it was, I gazed an instant, but I saw a jackal, who had snuffed the carcass, bounding up, and as instantly away; and in two minutes a distant, horrid roar came upon the wind. By this time the guide had ridden up with his spear, and cried, "Howaga, Assed! saba!! a lion! a lion!" We were now with both our horses on the full run; and when I thought of all the tales of jackals informing lions of prey, and considered our danger, I could almost feel the lion leaping upon my horse's back, his hot breath behind, and his claws tearing the flesh off my back. But our terror was changed into joy at seeing in the distance before us the white turbans of some horsemen, and we soon distinguished the tarbouches and dark robes, and gleaming pistols and harness of two Effendis of Luxor, of the Governor's, or Kaschid's house, who had been upon a ride over to Gournou, and were returning to their boats to cross the river. Our galloping up, and terror at the lion, only seemed to amuse them, as their attendants prepared their arms; but the old Effendi assured me, "*Mouch assed*," (it was no lion:) and I thought that only perhaps the horrid hyena, or wild dog's howl, had even magnified the guide's fears as well as mine, into a lion's roar. We soon reached our boats.

CHAPTER V.

Visit to Biban-el-Memlook.—Tombs of the Kings.

We left the valley of Hadj Achmed in the evening for a moonlight ride over to the Tombs of the Kings. A more wild, romantic ride I scarce ever had; the lone mountain and the sterile rocks are unlike any scenery I have ever seen, save the Pass of the Splugen in Switzerland, and the gorges of rock, and flint, and limestone exhibit such desolation of nature as I have never seen approached in any scenery in the world—the valley of Hinnom itself could scarce surpass it. Half way up the mountain we reached Lepsius's tomb, so called because he opened it; the figures are fresh and beautiful, and paintings almost fascinating; the entrance is a mere hole which you have to squeeze through. Lepsius has taken from here some figures as a reward to his sovereign, for the munificent expense which the King of Prussia incurred to make these excavations. Lepsius's firman ran in the express words, "to go where he pleased, to take what he pleased, and do what he pleased." In no place are his mutilations more apparent than in the tombs of the kings; the finest processions interrupted, the best figures cut away, while the wide, gaping space remains to attest the vandalism of the work. In the same spirit of obliging his royal master, the king, Chevalier Bunsen dedicates his work to him in return for his scientific commission. Would

that the use made of that expedition in the hands of Lepsius and Bunsen, might lead to a fair exposition of Scripture truth from the monuments, instead of being tortured by *ex parte* revelations of them to wild chronological conclusions.

We soon started again on foot to cross over the mountain, and a more dreary, solitary walk up peaks, along precipices, fearful gorges below, and the moon shining bright as day, could not be imagined. The guide, far before us, was leading the way with his long spear; and the boys, trying to keep the tinder, looked like little demons. We reached a point looking down into the deserted valley of Biban el Memlook, and soon arrived at No. 17, Belzoni's celebrated tomb, and the Arab boys having wonderfully preserved their fire, we were soon, with each a lighted candle in his hand, descending the handsome staircase, which opens from the wayside of the desolate mountain into its halls of paintings and histories. This beautiful work of the Theban *sextons* has been admired and described again and again. We were delighted all the way down the staircase with the processions of sacred boats carrying the soul along, and as our eyes flew from one beautiful, or mystical, or expressive object to another, we exclaimed that it was far the finest part of Egypt. Certainly of all the monuments, it is best preserved. Soon we meet the name of Osiren, the father of Sesostris, for whom this tomb was constructed; then follow the mythological processions—the allegory of the sun through the hours, figures of the winged globe and the scarabaei, sacrifices of bulls and human sacrifices, female forms and faces on the columns, that almost induce you to fall in love with their complexion and beauty. I cannot here, for want of time and illustration, go through the halls and chambers that open one upon the other. The paintings are copied with fine exactness

in Wilkinson's last works, and Rosellini, and fully described in the guide-books of Egypt. Hours were spent in it in most rapturous enjoyment. In some places the painting is left unfinished. In the celebrated Hall of Beauty, is the beautiful zodiac which decorates the ceiling, and the sacred boat and the last judgment where Osiren is brought before Amenti, and his offerings to the Theban triad are rehearsed, as the best of his deeds to recommend him to benignity; you see it distinctly, and the fire that the Arab makes on the floor of straw, lights up the bright colors like day. The names of several Americans, and names from every part of the world are read on the walls in the chambers after the second descent; Champollion and Lepsius have defaced it by their destructions.

To see the tombs is to see the completion of Egyptian mythology and philosophy; their belief, the aim of their life and ambition. They seem rather a palace than a tomb; the colors are as bright as if of yesterday.

In these tombs the procession of four different people, so often described as four Egyptians, called the *Rotno*, and of three other species, receives additional interest, from the same name having been found by Mr. Layard in Nineveh.

I recall the entering descent of the staircase, the serpents representing Kneph, the spirit of good taking the body, the sacred boats, the Theban triad, the procession, sacrifices of the bull, &c. The beautiful figures of the Egyptian women and their noble expression of countenances:—the American, English and French names, and the devastations of Lepsius and Champollion are here. Then the interior room, astronomical ceiling, and judgment of Amenti follows.

In this tomb we see on the walls figures painted of the Egyptian queens' lovely faces; their beautiful dark hue pos-

sessing a novelty to us from the land of pale faces that enhanced the charms these pictures display, as well as the statues of the budding beauty of Isis and Athor, which we have seen; and the hue left by the sun upon their cheeks, seemed but an earnest of the ardor that must have kindled their hearts:

> "The imbrowning of the fruit that tells
> How rich within the soul of sweetness dwells."

Bruce's Harper's tomb, which is No. 11, suggests the idea:

> "And oh be blessed, ye men of yore, whose toil
> Hath for her use scooped out of Egypt's soil
> This hidden Paradise—this mine of fanes,
> Gardens and palaces, where pleasure reigns;
> In a rich sunless empire of her own,
> With all earth's luxuries lighting up her throne,
> A realm for mystery made, which undermines
> The Nile itself, and 'neath the twelve great shrines
> That keep Initiation's holy rite,
> Spreads its long labyrinth of unearthly light;
> A light that knows no change,
> Its brooks that run,
> Too deep for day, its gardens without end;
> Where soul and sense by turns are charmed, surprised,
> And all that bard or prophet e'er devised,
> For man's Elysium, priests have realized."
>
> ALCIPHRON.

After Belzoni's tomb this is doubtless the most beautiful. Though the name designates it as the tomb of Amunmeses, and his queens, it was built also for another monarch of the twenty-first dynasty. On the columns figures and portraits of

beautiful ladies speak the elegant figures and features of the two queens; the expression of Madame the Queen of Amunmeses, both face and form, fills you with the highest delight —colors so fresh, figure so tall, and graceful; indeed, Madame had good reason to be proud of her artist, and the artist proud of his subject. This must be a mistake! Raphael's touch is here—it was some master of his period that did this! Titian's colors outlasted by thousands of years! Oh art! art! you are eternal here. Some of the paintings are like the frescoes of Belzoni's tomb—some are intaglios. Here I found several of the names of my friends of Cairo, Alexandria, and Europe, among the hieroglyphics of the Pharaohs. The harper is here in a little room like a Catholic shrine, of which there are numbers in this tomb. It reminds me of David and his minstrelsy. Stories of the king are in the large room, his processions, his mythology, his judgment, his sarcophagus. In one room there are seats for a *divan*, like a Roman cænabulum, the purpose of which I have explained in another place.* Here were feasts in the sight of the dead, a sacrifice of a human victim, freshly painted stories, and paintings, where the master's hand left off, to recommence *to-morrow—and the morrow took thought for the things of itself!* Such were the underground palaces which this king prepared for his memory! The broken columns attest the persevering mutilations of Champollion and Lepsius, whom the inscriptions of German, French, and English travellers reprobate. One couplet unjustly ridicules Sir Gardner Wilkinson: a space is filled with names of persons of wealthier position from New-York, and other cities, and England. Here you may see the oxen treading out corn,†

* See lines by the Author.

† Deut. xxv. 4; Isaiah xxx. 24; Matt. iii. 12; Psalm i. 4.

labors of the husbandmen, gatherings of fruits and grain, a monkey eating fruit, ploughs drawn by oxen two abreast, (the same used now in Egypt,) orchards, gardens, field sports, arts, trades, manufactures; sowers carrying seed in baskets;* men transporting pillars and marble sculpture; a crowd transporting a colossal statue; slaughtering cattle, casting metals, &c.

The tomb of Psammis, son of Pharaoh Necho, is one of the most magnificent in Thebes. It is 309 feet long, and contains the scenes of early Egyptian history, and the most beautiful and rich paintings. Most of all the tombs it was covered with mystical and idolatrous figures. The sacred boats, and sacred serpents, with their legs and human feet, and the Theban Triad, monsters, mysteries, astronomical and hierophantic processions of men carrying serpents, boats, mummies lying on a couch with serpents' heads, a barrow resting upon a snake, which people carried, emblematic of Kneph, or Cnuphis—the good divinity; the king offering to Anubis, Aroeris, Isis, Osiris, Ammon, Mouth, Chons—are all seen here. In one room is a well, or pit, which Belzoni explored thirty feet, and where doubtless there was a subterranean passage, in which the priests entered, and held their licentious rites after the tomb was closed up; in the same style as the story in "Bel and the Dragon" relates. In the same room is the procession of Persians, Greeks, Jews, Egyptians, who are here to attest the victories and swell the triumph of Pharaoh Necho. The negroes are as distinct as those you would find in our streets, and the Jews as well marked as those of Chatham-street. Twelve steps lead again into the corridor, in which the names of Nechao and Psammuthis occur: Isis gives tokens of favor.

* 1 Kings xix. 17; Deut. xxii. 10; Job i. 14, 15; xxiv. 3; Prov. xx. 4; 1 Sam. xiv. 4.

A handsome chamber follows: the king is offering to Anubis, Isis, Osiris; then comes a procession of captives, twelve long decorated square columns, on which I saw the name of a New-York distinguished scholar;* a chamber, with the hero at his devotions; a human sacrifice, with some of the heads struck off; and one mutilated fallen column in a room for couches.

Every variety of animals—elephants, bears, leopards, panthers, lynxes, giraffes, are seen; one man striking a crocodile; a bull-fight; one man numbering cattle, while his master and men are practising archery; a number of people, like Jews, are making bricks.† Here Egyptian overseers are overlooking the laborers, and among the rest a human sacrifice. Time will not suffice to enumerate the thousand illustrations of the Bible contained in these tombs. In the pages of Hengstenberg, Yates, and Osborn, they are referred to and dwelt upon.

Forms and figures of beauty, luxurious couches, and *fauteuils*, as if inviting to rest; arm-chairs, and *chaises longues* on a sort of pedestal, ascended by steps; a wooden bed-support; tables, with lions' paws for feet, like a modern piano; footstools, all are here.

Here is the economy‡ of the householder; the butcher slaughtering the ox, the cook cutting up the joints of meat, the caldron suspended over the fire, the beggar at the door waiting for his share.

The young neophyte, like Orpheus, passed through fire, water, air; and the danger, being magnified to try his courage, when it came to the point proved to be no danger at all. It was only a humbug to try his *pluck;* and the priest, clapping him on his back, said, "You are a good fellow, and will make

* Dr. A———n † Hengstenberg. ‡ Mrs. Romer.

one of us. Here is wine; here the food of pigs, calves, goats, which we keep for food, but for idols ostensibly to the herd." This Plato—this Orpheus, when they came here, went through. Such was Mithra's cave; such the night mysteries—the Orphic egg of the great temple; such Eleusis and its trials; such Elysium and its rewards. The priests waved their wands, and conjured, for the herd's benefit, monsters into gods;

> "While Reason like a grave-faced mummy stands,
> With her arms swathed in hieroglyphic bands."

These things account for the mesmerism which we see in the tombs at Thebes. The priest is there represented as making the mesmeric passes over his subject. Their great Hermes was Joseph, who gained from his Chaldean ancestors—which they transmitted through the family of Shem—that knowledge of astrology and other subjects which were probably at that day imperfectly known in Egypt. He was their great Hermes. Such were the secrets of the priests at Heliopolis, where Joseph married the high priest's daughter; such the arcana of Memphis and the city of the dead; such "Diospolitan craft and Heliopolite lore."

Among their mysteries was the great zodiac, which, the priest interpreted to the neophyte, showing the track of the sun among the spheres, the simple laws of astronomy which our children all know, the feasts in honor of his coming in the spring, and the songs of sorrow at darkness, the mysteries of Sais. Here also was their secret reign of eternal life, which we see the priests showering over the king at Medinet Habou—a mere sign of creation, artfully disguised by the

priests; as also their names and signs, by which they concealed plain truths, making them mysteries for the vulgar.

Moses learned these from the sacred college who presided over the twelve shrines; but as they had learned much from the Hebrews—and their highest astrological knowledge was from Ham (Canaan), whom they adored, as well as Shem, under the name of Vulcan or Phtha, the first of their gods—Moses gave more than he received. Of their secret rites, cheats, of animal worship, &c., we have explained all that in our articles on the tombs of the kings.

Here the mystic wisdom of the Egyptians depicted the history of the soul; the winged globe with a serpent; rays of glory descending from above; the deluge of the banks by the sacred river, the Nile; and the Theban beetle, as he comes forth after the waters have passed away, and the first sunbeam falls upon his regenerated wings. Here you may see the mysterious nature of animal worship, and the refined theology, which those who suppose idolatry is impossible to man think is veiled under its forms.

Every shrine throughout Egypt was consecrated to a particular faith. At Esne it was Latopolis, the worship of Latona, or Buto, or Diana; at Panopolis it was Mendes, the goat with the refulgent star on his breast; at Arsinoe it was the crocodile, with a costly gem in its loathsome ears, and rich bracelets of gold encircling its feet.

Here were the emblems of death,—a lotus branch broken in two, and a small bird winging its flight from the spray.

When I stood before the dark black statues of Isis in the sculpture gallery of the Louvre, and in the temple at Pompeii before the statue of white marble, I could well understand the

secret influence of that basaltic sculpture when placed before the neophyte, after his trials, which were managed by machinery, and it seemed as if sweet Nature was being revealed to him, and she would seem like a god.

In a mere sketch like this, it is a thankless task to rehearse the pictures and their subjects represented in these tombs. The artist, by his labors, has brought them to Europe, and to us. They remain there, *tombs* in name, in purpose, but in beauty and preservation, the finest national monument and record that the earlier nations of the world have left. But a few years since, and the thresholds of some had not been crossed for thirty centuries; that granite sarcophagus contained the body of a sovereign of ancient Egypt; and, great and lordly as he was, he is only an ornament now of a glass case in a British museum, glanced at as a *mummy!* and forgotten: and yet he has accomplished his end, and is preserved, and in the hands of those who will preserve him. His horror at being "*a damp, moist, unpleasant body*," as M. Mantalini expressed it, was only a natural one, and has been well expressed by the greatest of Anglo minds, Shakspeare:

> "Aye; but to die, and go we know not where!
> To lie in cold obstruction, and to rot!
> This sensible, warm motion to become
> A kneaded clod; and the delighted spirit,
> To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
> In thrilling regions of thick ribbed ice;
> To be imprisoned in the viewless winds,
> And blown with restless violence about the pendent world!—
> 'Tis too horrible!"

Then let us not so ridicule the poor Egyptian sovereign. He despised the mere marble monument that might tell his vir-

tues to the world; but he left a monument that historied his nation to the latest generation. Greater than marble, those temples; than letters were, these tombs of those kings. And if he furnished a subject for a literary reunion in London, he kept his body nevertheless for 3000 years. Mummy now, he was nevertheless more knowing, in one respect, than any sovereign of the world. So let him go. Not one of the tens of thousands of boobies in London, of louts from the provincial towns, but has stared at the poor mummy; and many have gaped with open eyes at his tomb. And yet, Oh king, live for ever! That is, may thy body last as was thy idea of existence. The world has only stood six thousand years, and thy body and thy tomb have lasted two-thirds of it, nearly, and probably will the rest. Where is that soul of thine, Oh king?—Oh king, where?

The tomb of Memnon, No. 9, shows a long series of paintings, representing the progress of the sun through the upper hemisphere, (alluding to the image of the king through his lifetime,) and on the opposite or western panels the progress of the sun in the lower hemisphere—(the image of the king after his death.) Thus Diospolitan priesthood shadowed the history of the soul, drawing an analogy between moral light and darkness. This and the others show, that at this era the Egyptians possessed the idea of the immortality of the soul. They are fully decorated, showing that the Pharaohs commenced the tomb, carrying it on with their reigns, and continuing it during their lifetimes.

No. 1, is the tomb of Rameses IX. One of the inscriptions is in Champollion's Grammar, p. 478. No. 3, is of Rameses III. No. 4, is that of Rameses VIII. No. 6, is the tomb of Rameses VII. No. 5, is the tomb of Chamed. In the tomb of Rameses VI., Champollion's Grammar, p. 263,

288, translates inscriptions. No. 8, according to Wilkinson, is the tomb of King Pthamen. No. 14, was the tomb of Prince Rameses, not a king, called Rameses Mondauk. The tomb of Rameses V. has also copies of many of its inscriptions in the Grammaire, pp. 427, 186, 414, 425, 484, 483, 426, 519, 459, 419, 490. I read most of the inscriptions of his titles and history by its aid.

No. 7, as some say, is that of Rameses IV., or according to Wilkinson, Rameses II.; here, baking in its perfection is represented. In the kitchen scenes, I saw represented many of the facts of Scripture of which Hengstenberg speaks. In the altars I saw those to which Champollion, Rosellini, and Osborne have called our attention. The baker carrying the fruits on his head, I distinctly made out, illustrating the butler's and baker's dreams, and many other passages of Scripture.* No. 14, the King Pthasephthah, who inherited in right of his Queen Taosri. I saw the intaglio so celebrated, the Pharaoh attended by Anubis, and broken sarcophagus. In No. 16, I entered the tomb of Rameses I., the father of Osiren, and grandfather of Sesostris. What a contrast to that of his son! The tomb of Siptha was commenced by that monarch with great magnificence, but he never lay in it. It was finished by his successor Remeri, whose sarcophagus was there. An author thinks that this Siptha, whose queen was Taorsi, or Thaosr, and whose tomb I visited among those of the Hadj Achmed, and who was the last of the eighteenth dynasty, was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Nolan gives the same reason for its being Amunoph. Of the four tombs on the west valley of Thebes, of which Wilkinson speaks, that

* See Rosellini.

of Amunoph III. is the best. These, though more distant, are as well worth visiting as those we have seen.

In the valley El Assassif are the tombs of the priests.

The tomb of Rochscere bears the cartouche of Thothmes IV., the fifth king of the eighteenth dynasty. Rochscere was a high court officer of that king. You may see a fine picture in the tomb, of men with the *beard and physiognomy of the Hebrews*, making brick and some transporting clay, some mingling it with stone; some taking out bricks and placing them in rows, exactly as in a modern brick furnace; others having a yoke of wood on their backs tied with ropes, taking bricks to burn. Four persons are seen who are evidently Egyptians in form and color. Rochscere was overseer of the public buildings, and had charge of all the works.* See what is said of Egyptian aliens, Deut. xxix. 10. Hengstenberg alludes to this tomb in his work.

In a part of one tomb is a history referring to the dispersion of mankind, proving that the Egyptians possessed from the foundation of their mythology the Mosaic history of the Hebrews—that they acknowledged, we hence infer—Shem as their first god, Pthah or Vulcan. One *lotus*-marked cartouche represents the name of Egypt; another, Javan or Japhet; another Ham, or Cush or Canaan, whom they worshipped, and Misraim his son, whence the settlement of the Nile and name of Egypt, *Misr*.

Time will not permit me to enumerate the tombs of the priests and private individuals, which are scattered throughout the vast necropolis. Some, far the most ancient in Thebes, are nearly all fully described by Wilkinson in his hand-book. Their beauty is not inferior to those of the kings, and the

* See Numbers, xi. 4.

light they throw on the customs of their country and Scripture truth—full of distinctness.

Thebes.—But we cannot contemplate the plain of Thebes as it is now, and as the English sportsman does (who comes up the Nile to shoot, and missing his club and London life, thinks it a great "bore"), who gazes at its ruins as so many bits of rubbish—we must on the contrary carry away from Thebes a picture in our mind, a picture complete, as it once was, complete as we would from London, or Rome, or Naples. Thus you can look at Athens, and why not at Thebes? We have travellers' books and descriptions from Homer down, and can identify them, Greek geographers with French and English. Now let us see if we can have Thebes, and on our horse we will have a morning ride. We start from our boats along the avenue of Crio sphinxes, which lead from the temple of Luxor in Diospolis. Along through these sphinxes, the priests carried the sacred ark and the statues of their gods, in the immense Serpentine road, which formed a magic circle, leading around this side of the river, till it passed through all the temple and reached the bank again, completing the magic circle, and there crossed over to Luxor. Our road along the sphinxes leads us to the two colossal statues erected by and bearing the name of Amunoph III., called Shamy and Damy by Arabs, from one of which, called the vocal statue of Memnon, a low musical sound, like the note of a soft Æolian harp, with the clanging metallic stroke as of a bell came forth, as the morning light first shone upon it. From those which stand twenty yards apart on each side of the avenue of sphinxes, you proceed along through a finer row of sphinxes, and sitting figures of basalt, till you come to a grand pile with a magnificent propylon and figures of the gods and Sesostris. This is described

as the Memnonium. Leaving this, we turn northwards (through what is now the valley Assassif of the Arabs, and strewed with torsos and fragments of enormous statues), through a row of noble statues of the Amenophs, Sesostrises, Osirens, &c., and at the end of this causeway come to a splendid gateway, and reach the above described Northern Dair, and passing through a long avenue of sphinxes, we come to a number of obelisks. By an avenue of sphinxes we go to the two colossal sitting statues of Sesostris, and reach the old palace of Rameses II. at Gournou. Gournou seen (described above), we return to the water's edge by the avenue of Crio sphinxes to the great propylon of Karnac, crossing the river by bridge or boats, as the mode may then have been.

Had you been here in the time of Shishak, you might have seen the 1200 chariots, and 60,000 horsemen, reviewed upon these plains; and with the priests carrying sacred emblems at their head, passing through these routes, and embarking for "*Joudah Amelek*,"* or Judea, or Syria; or returning victorious with their victims. Had you been here in the time of Sesostris you might have seen his triumphal car, with kings of Europe, Asia, and Africa, chained; and bearing spoils from India, cameleopards, and trees and fruits of the tropics, (you may still see them painted in the Memnonium,) gems and gold, and ivory, gracing his triumph. Had you been here, in the time of the Trojan war, you might have seen the elegant form of Memnon, standing erect in his car, and his 200 chariots, and 20,000 horsemen, which were levied to accompany Achilles to the plains of Troy, and who only excelled him in beauty on those plains.† Or, at almost any great fes-

* See records in Karnac, Champollion, and Wilkinson.

† Homer.

tival of Osiris, or of the overflow of the Nile, at almost any of the feasts of the regeneration of the sun, or at the astronomical feasts, you might have seen the *Potiphars* carrying their ark, and emblems peculiar to their order, through the royal street, which we have just left, till they re-entered Karnac with songs of rejoicing, and music of the cymbals, and harps and drums. Perhaps it is only a procession of hierophants that greets you now, and the neophytes, clothed in white, have learned mysteries which Moses learned, and are about to be consecrated; the priests of Thoth are bearing the sacred books of the Memnonium, or the lamps of the sacred fire. But we can fancy here for hours, and have our fancies aided by history.

Here, where colors seemed first taught, sublime art has placed four thousand years ago pictures that are fresh and bright to this day. What beauty of art, what interest of history, still attracts to these wonderful paintings! The place seems not a tomb, but a festal hall. What a list of beautiful stories these paintings tell! what a glory of art! what a scene of delight the twelve chambers and corridors of Belzoni, and the other tombs!

One of the most happy conclusions with reference to the records in the monuments of Egypt is the confirmation which they receive from the new discoveries at Khorsabad, Kuyunjek, and Nimroud, by Mr. Layard; and the translation of the inscriptions by Mr. Birch, and the other distinguished scholars of the Asiatic Society, who have proceeded in that interpretation of the cuneiform inscription, to which Major Rawlinson found the key. Alike with the Assyrian names found in Karnac, names of Assyrian tribes, as the Rotno, which is in Belzoni's tomb, &c., there are Assyrian coincidences discov-

ered in the statistical and other tables at Karnac; and also, still more interesting, several cartouches newly laid open in the ruins of Nineveh. The names of Shishak, his sons Shapud and Osorchon; Nimrot, the son of Osorchon II. As to these names of the Egyptian kings of the twenty-second dynasty being found in Karnac, it is certain that most intimate connection existed between Assyria and Egypt at that time, Solomon having previously married the Egyptian* monarch's daughter, and Jeroboam finding refuge at Shishak's court. Bible history, and Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, prove that the countries were at peace; probably the Egyptian monarchs caused Egyptian artists to execute their names in the sacred characters.

Layard's discovery relates perhaps to an occupation of Egypt by Assyrians. The likeness of Ken and Astarte of the Egyptians is illustrated.

In the British Museum are the flowers worshipped by Rameses III., the Assyrian Egyptian goddess. On a Turin tablet, she is called Alste, or Adesh.

* 1 Kings xi. 40.

CHAPTER VI.

Hermonthis or Herment.—Adventure with a bull.—Esne.—Governor.—Temple.—Almes.—Zodiacs.—Arab songs.—Arnaouts.—Cataracts.—Philæ.—Nubia.—Abyssinia.

Not far from Thebes on our way to Esne is another Roman temple of Herment or Hermonthis, built by Cleopatra, in honor of her having given birth to her son, Cæsarion. Reto, the second of the Hermonthite trinity, is giving birth to Hospire, the child of Reto by Mandoo. Cleopatra is represented adoring the Hermonthian bull; Apollo or Mandoo, and Jupiter Ammon were worshipped here. It is of beautiful architecture, and the pleasant conviction I have experienced at Dendera and Esne, of the completeness of Scripture truth, has made every Roman site interesting to me. The zodiac is hardly less interesting than those of Dendera and Esne. We were walking along here, when we met with an incident which accorded well with the worship of the place. A ferocious bull had just broken the rope that had fastened him to the stump of a palm-tree, and one of my boatmen with his bright red tarbouch, seemed to arouse his indignation. The hideous roar with which he bounded at him, enlisted alike my fears and interest for the poor Berber, who, turned towards him, stood awaiting, as I thought, transfixed with fear and resignation. The huge animal was tearing up the ground,

first with one horn and then with the other, and nearing him every instant. (He was the very largest of his species, and might have been a good representative of Apis, his ancestor, and all of these animals are fine at Hermonthis, and of a noble breed of cattle.) But, preserving his dignity as a deity but poorly, the worshipped divinity of Hermonthis (in times when the Greek Strabo voyaged here) was now kicking up the dust, and nearing every leap the poor Arab, who was already in my fancy gored. We held our breaths in intense excitement. I wished for my gun to put a ball through the animal's heart; but the Arab was wiser than we thought him, for as the animal was within two feet of him, he jumped directly at his front, and grasped his horns. It was done so quickly and handsomely, and changed our intense eagerness for his escape into such a hearty roar of laughter at his agility, that I could only compare it to Waterton's escape from an alligator, by leaping on his back and riding him; or a negro dodging a shark in Port Royal harbor. But he held the bull fast, though he pawed and leaped ferociously, till one of the Arabs unloosing the strip of cotton from his tarbouch, which formed his turban, tied his feet together, and bound him fast to a date-tree.

The scenery from Thebes to Esne has some bold characteristics, and one rock over the river, upon which stands a convent, has outlines of beauty which would vie with the Highland precipices of Scotland. The boatmen were highly excited at reaching Esne; my reis having a wife and children there, and the rest all "intimate friends." They were singing all night to the *gals* of Esne, almost in the same way that the sailor does to the New-York *gals* when bound home. As for ourselves, we were too much interested in the zodiacs, and bishops and temples of Esne, to feel their enthu-

siasm, but we had some curiosity to see the Almé dance in its perfection, by women who had been favorites of Ibrahim and Abbas Pacha. The temple was the first sight; the capitals are beautiful, made of the *lotus* leaf; but how it looks after Thebes! What a half Roman, half Egyptian species of architecture; and then the columns covered with dog deities, and that disgusting animal worship in the sculptures, showing such degeneracy of art under those vile Ptolemies and Emperors. It was the city of Latopolis, city of the Fish, who was worshipped here; some say of Latona, or Bubastis, or Diana. Certainly the *chaste* Diana is not the deity here now, neither do travellers come here to worship her. The eighteen hundred ladies who are sent up here, by Mohammedan Mollahs, virtuous, pious priests of Turkdom, would tell you, that they did not *know* any such lady. The temple has been cleared out, though huts surround it, and you must stoop to enter. It is used as a warehouse by the Pacha. Several mummies are lying here, but they would not allow us to have one. The view of Esne towards the mountains after walking through the town, is exquisite; it has a rich fertile plain and many beautiful situations. On the opposite side is a sand bank, and a troop of horsemen with the bright trappings of a Turk *distingué*, are starting to cross the desert of Ababdie and thence to Berenice, and across the Red Sea. In the burning sun their weapons and the sand shone with a powerful glare. Berenice had great commerce once, and with Kosseir was the great port for crossing the Red Sea. I had seen in the temple the tendency of Roman art here, which had even degraded Egyptian, and found all the doubts urged by Fourier futile. The temple bears the works of most corrupt mythology, and dog-headed divinities cover its walls.

On the portico of Esne, whose astronomical zodiac is judged to be far older than that of Dendera, I distinctly read the names of the Roman Emperors Claudius and Antoninus Pius, with which Champollion fixed irrevocably the age of the zodiacs, and refuted the infidelity of Dupuis and his colleagues, that then fashionable infidelity in Paris, which is not respectable now even there: but Letronne, in his "Critical and Archæological Observations upon the Zodiacs," has sufficiently gone over the ground, and with his able classical archæological learning, given much interest to a question, which requires only a boy's glance at the temple and architecture of Esne to settle. In his notice of the zodiac painted upon the mummy coffin of Trajan's time, he proves that *all* the zodiacs date from that Emperor's time.

The evening of our arrival at Esne was set apart by my friend's dragoman for a great exhibition of the Almés. *Sophia*, of whom Warburton speaks so feelingly, had grown old. *Coutchuchany* was not to our liking, as being too popular; but *Hanim* seeming to combine a certain kind of reputation with a not too great publicity, to her house we accordingly repaired, to see a *fantasia*. Several girls had assembled there—Circassian, Arab, Turkish; some pretty, and dressed in loose trousers and closely fitting jackets, their heads ornamented with abundance of gold coins. Their singing or chanting rather pleased us; it was a sad and interesting tune. Their dancing I could never greatly admire, though some of their motions are difficult and extraordinary. The quantity of *aqua vitæ* they drank positively disgusted us; and the only thing at all interesting, was the shrewdness of a member in purloining the wine and brandy which had been provided

from my friend's boat for the dance, before it reached the dancing-room.

Our curiosity upon the subject led to the explanation by a little Georgian girl, whose dancing and singing was far better than that of any, as to how it was disposed of. She could not speak a word of any language we could understand. She had been banished from Cairo or Alexandria, as the eighteen hundred women of Esne were, for too unrestrained construction of Turkish conjugal relations; but had been brought up in Stamboul, and was a present from a Bey there. She succeeded in showing us, by the most expressive gestures and flashings of the eye, that our dragoman had given the stores of wine and brandy to *Hanim*, as a gift of friendship; and at the conclusion of her story, looked into my face, and uttered, "*Wallah thayeeb*"—"By Allah! that is a good joke, is it not?"

The Arnaouts scattered through Esne are the terror of all; but I saw only ten or a dozen prowling about, and am rather inclined to think that Warburton's romantic incident with them borders upon the imaginative. Those I saw gathered around the Governor's house were a wild-looking set of dogs, not at all doing justice to their brother Albanians who had so charmed me in the Gulf of Corinth. As to Thackeray's* recommendation, that Mohammed Ali should serve them up the same sort of breakfast that he did the Mamelukes, I think it would be a very foolish affair, for the poor Greeks who are scattered through Egypt have the worst enemies in their own vices and passions.

The Bishop of Esne is one of the noble pillars of the Christian Church of Egypt. He has enjoyed a high reputation for many years; and I have heard many Copts speak of him in

* Cornhill to Cairo.

terms of affectionate respect. The convent church is conspicuous here. He has educated many of the young Copts, who have perfected, under the Rev. Mr. Leider, and his lady, at Cairo, their knowledge of true Christianity and English.

Just out of Esne are tombs, some of Christian martyrs, and doubtless of some who fled from Medinet Habou.

The Pacha's daughter is here, in her steamboat; and we take a walk down the sands to look at the plain of Esne behind. She is now old, but has been a handsome woman.

My friend took my firman and called upon the Governor, who received him kindly, stocked his boat with coal, and refused to receive any money; which your dragoman always interprets as a polite invitation for you to send him in return a watch, or a gun or pistol, or powder flask. So, you see, the Turkish Pachas are knowing fellows, and in "cuteness" they might almost compare with the "down-easters" of our own land. I have seen several instances of this peculiar kind of generosity, for which these Turkish Governors are distinguished; and, not being overstocked with watches, guns, or pistols, I let the "Governor" alone. My friend was welcome to my firman, and, with a very expensive powder flask, and some few pounds of shot and powder, managed to get off from the Governor pretty well: so I did not get the laugh on him I expected.

Among the songs of the Almehs, were many which have been translated by St. John, Warburton in his "Crescent and the Cross," and Lord Lindsay; and though they have drawn somewhat from fancy, I would not attempt to improve them. The famous one of the Arab girl chiding her lover, he has dwelt upon. There was one in particular that struck me, where she says her lover has gone on a far pilgrimage to

Mecca. It is accompanied by a chorus of several voices to the sound of the Sakia, and with a dance is significative of the ideas.

Esne is the last frontier town in Upper Egypt. The last of the properly Egyptian temples are at Edfou; and, though we wished to see sacred Philæ, Elephantina, the colossi of Ipsamboul, the temples of Dair, and the beautiful piles of Dakke; still the heat of Esne—for it was now February—and a pain in the eyeballs, that led me to fear a touch of ophthalmia, made me anxious to return, as there was nothing that I so prized as my eyes. Turning back from the grottoes of Filythias, which have been well described by travellers, where the threshing song is represented:

> "Tread ye out for yourselves,
> Tread ye out for yourselves,
> The straw;
> For men who are your masters,
> The grain," &c.;

we turned back to Thebes, already half unexplored. Opposite the town of Esne, and a short distance above, stretches a wide plain, and here we saw a caravan starting on the great desert. A Turkish officer at Esne, who was with the Pacha's daughter, was with them; and the beautiful trappings of his suite were glittering in the sun. They were crossing down to the great oasis.

The scenery above Esne is peculiarly beautiful, the mountain rocks are distinct, and contrast with the desert most admirably.

A traveller, who had been to Ipsamboul, one of our Scotch friends, who left us above Esne, on his return to Alexandria,

told me, were he going again he would not go above Thebes. One certainly gets all in Karnac that any one can find of stupendous grandeur. I had seen there, and at Dendera and Esne, memorials of the palmiest days of ancient Egypt, and the eighteenth dynasty. I had seen the decline from that period. I had seen the latest, even down to Roman sway, and began to think of returning.

We saw here some of the Bishareh, who differ from the Ababdie Arabs, both of whom are to be seen here in the bazaar.

Abyssinia.—

"By Meroe's isle, whose shadow half way falls."

Above Egypt, of which we have reached, at Esne, the last frontier town, lie many places of interest. Philæ, with its temples; Elephantina, Dadour, and Dehod; Kalabshe Dirr, Guerf Hassan, Korosko, and Ipsamboul; Dakke, the stronghold of Egyptian magic; Wady Halfa, where not only Burckhardt, Belzoni, and Lord Lindsay, but thousands of English travellers have recorded their names; Aboosimboul, with its colossi, its temple of Hathor, Wady Sibou, and those places upon which the guide-books are scant, the history little known, the history little read;—all these, as well as those between us and the first Cataract, the beautiful temple of Edfou—the most beautiful in Egypt; the quarries of Hajjar Silsilis, and the quarries of Egypt's architecture, the cataracts—all these I leave to my readers, and the interesting works of Warburton and Lord Lindsay. Nubia, Dongola, Sennaar, and then comes Abyssinia, with its capital Meroe, where Candace of the New Testament reigned (*Acts*). Hoskins has described it in his Ethiopia. Beyond, the country is rich from its Christian history; the king of Thau, Sabela Selasse, calls

himself descendant of Solomon and Queen Sheba. All this, and a hippopotamus hunt at Khartoum, the junction of the White and Blue Nile, I leave, as well as the giraffe hunting in the mountains of Gondar, to English and American* travellers.

After this, we would speak of the source of the White Nile, which a friend of mine, M. D'Abaddie, has, with his two brothers, all French gentlemen of fortune, been employed in investigating, and which he has pretty conclusively settled. He has spent ten years there, and his results have far excelled those of Major Harris.† The region of El Hamyra, where he traces the source of the White Nile, has been fully laid down before the Geographical Society; and whoever will investigate the subject, will find in the discussions of Dr. Beke and Mr. Ayrton, of the Geographical Society of London, all upon the subject. His Christian discoveries are full of interest, and he denies the existence of cannibals, or *anthropophagi*, in that country. He describes his difficulties in that region most picturesquely; the impossibility of procuring provisions particularly—where in one place he could not procure even a sheep. I have been much interested in his accounts, as well as in those of some Frenchmen I met in Cairo, who had just returned. Shendy, and its king Tiger, Shenda, Dongola, Sennaar, and Khartoum, in Nubia, where the Pacha's garrisons are; the Blue Nile and White Nile, have been fully described.

There is another Abyssinian traveller,‡ of a noble family

* Dr. Anderson last year went to Wady Halfa.

† His exploration of the Diddesa branch, which is separated by the Dolmus from the Andah desert. He penetrated to the Kaffa and Sura tribes, who are enemies. The yet unexplored part of the White Nile lies between D'Abadie, Yeouker-isle, and d'Arnaud's Yeouker ferry.

‡ Mr. P——s.

in England, of a large fortune and extended circle of friends, whose virtues of heart have been rendered too susceptible only by intercourse with exacting English society, and who for reasons, which only show the noble texture of his character, has absented himself from England for years, and spent his life in the most distant part of Abyssinia. With only his dragoman and servants, he dwelt here in his hut. He was so useful to the people, whom he treated as a father, that he became their confidant in all their troubles. Before him they came when their flocks were menaced by robbers, or their little stores menaced by the tyrannous exactions of the Pacha's soldiers, who occasionally penetrated to their frontier. He was chosen a king among one tribe, and in all his relations with that rude people governed himself by the same rules of society and honor, as in his own country, in England. He has been long known in Egypt, particularly in Cairo, by a numerous circle of friends, and I am proud to add my name to the list.

Should these pages ever meet his eye, I trust it will be on his own estate in Nottinghamshire, and among the civilized advantages of a land to which he is an honor.

We turned our boat and descended the river. We had seen all, and all we had to do was to float down. Now we would visit some town on the shore for provisions, or an Almé dance, or a bath, and always found alike interest and amusements. On leaving Thebes several English boats had arrived there, and two American flags, one of which belonged to an Episcopal clergyman. We passed two boats also with an English flag, in which were two brothers of a distinguished English name. But the weather was becoming unpleasantly warm in the Said, and it would be high time for Palestine and Syria. But

why explore them? I would not step a foot into Syria, without exploring alike with Balbec and Palmyra, also Nineveh, Babylon (or Hillah) and Persepolis; and for the caravan route from Aleppo to Bagdad, which is the only mode of crossing the Syrian desert, and reaching Babylon, and the sites of Assyrian and Chaldean sway, I am not prepared. Nineveh,* Babylon, Persepolis, what testimonies ye can bear to Scripture! and yet are these alone? Are there not in my own land testimonies alike, in the sepulchral mounds, in the ruins of Central America, Chiapas, Yucatan, in the temple of the Sun, and the mythology of the Aztecs, in the geology of the Mississippi? Now then to America, that land of prosperity, Christianity and truth; and as they turned my boat, I thought of those *rarely* quoted lines:

> "Lives there a man with soul so dead,
> Who never to himself hath said,
> This is mine own, my native land:—
> Whose heart within him never burned,
> As homeward he his footsteps turned,
> From wandering on a foreign strand?"

How many who have never tried it, have spoken of the *intolerable* boat voyage of the Nile; but to me and many others who have been through it, it was nothing but pleasure. All along before, we had been leaving Europe and civilization, and sailing far into the past, into the regions of time, "where he so sadly overcometh all things, and sitteth semi-somnous on a pyramid, and looketh into old Thebes, and mumbleth something." But now with sadness I saw one city after another passed, and each one bringing us nearer Cairo and civilization.

* Layard's Nineveh was not then published.

How I was planning with Suleiman, another visit, to come with my wife, should I by that time have one; and supposing that, by that time, he would have soared from the command of a *Sandal* to that of a *Cangia Dharbieh*, or *germ*.* "Inshallah," all the Arabs replied, and each one vowed to go with us if I came to the farthest sources of the Nile, in Abyssinia or Ethiopia. I stopped a moment at Gaw or Antæopolis.

Gaw, or *Antæopolis*.—I did not expect much here from the accounts of all travellers, though I landed; the wind seemed to be lessened; I rambled over the site and few ruins of Antæus, the *dog-devoured* huntsman demigod, whom the Greeks have worshipped. At *Gau-el-Kebyr* or Great Gau, there are a few ruins, while at Gau-el-Gharbieh or West Gau, there are scarcely any; the richness of the wheat crops here, now in maize, green and flourishing, confirmed the account of the grain wealth of this region since the times of the ancients. The groves an woods were all full of game then, and here Antæus and his hounds (they thought) chased the prey. St. John mentions the decay of ruins since Dr. Richardson's time, but since then they have dwindled to a few stones and bricks.

We stopped at different towns besides. Tel-el-Amarna and its grottoes, of which little can be said. Indeed, I would look at no antiquities after Thebes, save for research, and where you can find most of them copied in Wilkinson and Rosellini, it is lost time. Float down then, and think of home, and

* The largest boats on the Nile measure 280 feet in length, these are the *germs* for grain and inundations—the travellers' boats, are the *maash, dashabeh, cangia* and *sandal*, having cabins, divans, &c. Osiout is the great boat-building port, and we see every variety here down to the *maadil* or ferry-boat, and the *garib* or fishing-boat.

the objects and purposes of life. "Look no longer mournfully into the past; go forth to meet the future without fear." There is a wide field in the new and opening world of our land, and we dream no longer.

What do we owe to Egypt? I would not have seen in the Holy Land any evidences of the source of worship; but here, on the Nile, I saw the Hebrews; in Beni Hassan the customs from which theirs sprung; in the tombs of the kings in Biban-el-Memlook, the faith which was taught them by Joseph and Moses.

I have not so fully investigated the hieroglyphics as to speak confidently upon many points; and I think such a use as Lanci and others have made of their knowledge is of little value, involving one in numerous mental difficulties, finding here and there abundant allegories, fancied resemblances, &c. But the real use of the hieroglyphics,—the names, dates, and plain histories, which one can now determine without a doubt, is no loss of time. I can never regret the use they have been to me in settling these, more than the Hebrew, more than any other language, by the records on the permanent works, the enduring monuments.

The convents from this down the Nile, have been dwelt upon by travellers. Numerous Christian ecclesiastics have fled in earlier times here, and built in the natural grottoes of these mountains a refuge and a home. John of Lycopolis at Sciout, and among some of those above us, St. Athanasius, fled hither from the persecutions of Julian the Apostate, and his Arian enemies. Perchance, here he composed that creed so famed. The Italian begging monks of the Gebel-el-Teir have been spoken of by Warburton, St. John, Dr. Richardson, Dr. Olin, and Stephens. I saw none of them. From the convent above,

it is said you may get a distant view of Mount Sinai. Here is the Egyptian Esdraedlon, where Typhon and Osiris are to fight in the last day, champions in the cause of creation.

Walking ashore with my gun, I saw a specimen of the ichneumon, or rat-catcher; which, since the time of the Pharaohs, has been common in Egypt.

I have, I believe, seen specimens of all the animals in my walks along the Nile,—buffaloes, sheep, goats, dogs, cats, the wolf, fox, and jackal; every thing but the lion. Stephens has an account of a hyena that jumped on to his boat. I have seen few travellers in Egypt who had seen any; but I have fancied I have heard their cry often in the distance. Since *Barnum*, of the *Museum*, has had his agents in Egypt hunting for hyenas and enormous crocodiles, I presume the race have become almost extinct. I have seen the lynx; the jerboa, a species of kangaroo; and as to birds, have shot at the ibis and wild goose, pelicans, vultures, falcons, wild ducks, pigeons, hawks, eagles, buzzards; and all the night birds,—owls, bats, &c.

Minieh we visit again on our way down, and find it not much changed. Some rare stories of the new sway of Abbas Pacha reach us here; and the reappointment of Governors in these provincial towns, and the characters of his choice, fully demonstrate what his future sway will be. On we continued, and a fine wind and current is taking us nearer and nearer to Cairo. What conflicting emotions! How long since we have seen or heard European news! and yet we are not at all anxious, for the valley of the Nile has been so interesting; and now we are fairly down, we regret that we did not go higher, to Abyssinia or Ethiopia. However, there is much yet untravelled in the world, and we have not yet seen the luxuriant

scenery of the Amazon, or the volcano mountains of Brazil and the Andes.

It was a lovely night; and gliding along, I could almost imagine myself the young Greek of the "Epicurean," save that, alas! the prospect of no beautiful priestess, like her of the shrine of Isis, was cheering me with hope, like him,

> ——— "on one of those sweet nights
> When Isis, the pure star of lovers, lights
> Her bridal crescent o'er the holy stream;
> When wandering youths and maidens watch her beam,
> And number o'er the nights she hath to run
> Ere she again embrace her bridegroom sun."

And where are the shrines of Isis that graced the banks, and in subterranean temples extended to Lake Mœris?

Let us back again, through revolutionary Europe; through a Rome without a Pope, an Italian republic persecuted by its sister republic; through a France governed by the shadow of a name.

The wind carried us by noon past Benisoef, and before night we passed the *false pyramid.* Soon Dashoor and Abousir pyramids hove in sight; after, the well-marked and terraced, mound-like Saccara pyramids. Then Fostat, once a great Mohammedan city; and in the haze of twilight, far to the north, Ghizeh, and Cheops' mighty works.

Late in the evening, we approach the outskirts of Cairo. How beautiful the river for miles before reaching Cairo!—with the palaces, and military schools, and colleges, and institutions, and hospitals, with which the banks are lined. Music floats along the sacred river; Rhoda and her sacred tradition again; and we are again among the Nile shipping near Boulacq.

It was past twelve o'clock, P. M., on one of the latter days of February, when I ordered my boatmen to haul in at the very place I had embarked from forty days before, near the transit office. Stephens speaks of his finding Cairo like home; but his impressions could not compare with mine. Boulacq seemed to me like New-York. I rushed on shore with Antonio, determined to reach Cairo, gates, guards, no password, to the contrary notwithstanding. The sound of the *sakia* and some late *fantasia*, an old Turk returning with his attendant and light from a prolonged carouse, were all that broke the silence. In vain I urged Antonio to go with me to the gate; he only said it would cause our arrest and expose us to ridicule. I returned to my boat, but sleep I could not. I rose again: the moon was like day. Antonio was snoring. To sleep that night at Shepherd's hotel I was determined; I called my tall cook, the Turk Beekra. On we started for Cairo or Masr. He understood only Arabic. We passed the well-remembered spots on the road from Boulacq, which I remember promenading one night with a noble young Englishman, now in Damascus. Two men were before us. They might be Arabs; we had heard of murders without the walls. We walk slowly and silently along; they before us. They cross the bridge, we follow. Ten minutes, and we gain on them as they approach the gate. They give the password, and the gate opens. We rush forward just as they are passing through, to gain admittance, by pretending to be of their party; but imagine my surprise, when they accosted me with "Mr. ——, how do you do?" Those whom I had avoided as Arab vagabonds, were two English acquaintances who resided at Cairo, returning from dinner with Dr. W——t and Mr. M——n, of New-York, who were at Rhoda, on their way up. I hurriedly inquired the

password. "Koursoumakhah," they answered, and we stepped within the gate, congratulating ourselves on the providential meeting that seemed almost romantic, for I could not have passed the gates that night had I not met them; for as Abbas Pacha had returned, they were very strict. In five minutes I was in Shepherd's, and shortly asleep in the old familiar hotel.

CHAPTER VII.

Cairo.—View from Esbekiah.—Abbas Pacha.—Illuminations.—Women in the East.—Defterdar Bey.—A Moslem Lucrezia Borgia.—Memphis.—Pyramids.—Sacred tradition.—Alexandria.—Farewell to Egypt.

How beautiful the view from our hotel top in the Esbekiah at sunset; the thousand objects of interest studding the loveliest of landscapes! To the east, over the sea of mosques and oriental houses, lies the citadel with its mosque on the spot of its founder's crimes. Below is the square of Esbekiah, with its trees and planted walks and gardens, now lighting up with a thousand lamps in illumination of the return of Abbas Pacha. Around, towards the desert, the old mosques, and spires, and ruins, and tombs of the Cairo of the Caliphs. Further on, old Cairo with its beauties, and by it the thousand palaces of the Beys and Pachas, that hang over the beautiful Nile, and Rhoda with its beauties and associations. Further on to the west, stretch the plains of Memphis, where stood the first of Egypt's cities, and conspicuous against the rich glow of an Egyptian sunset, the awful, lofty pyramids. Never could we turn to objects of more interest, of modern or ancient times. Down the landscape floats the Nile,—Boulacq, Cairo's port, and farther to the south, the beautiful avenue of Shoubra, and the palace and gardens of Egypt's lord. Near is the Coptic and Jewish quarter of modern Cairo. Towards the citadel lies the Turkish quarter, with its mosques, its bazaars, its baths, and around through the near streets, the

thousand objects that tell of the rich orientalism of the city. And the air is so delightful! Not, perhaps, what the air of Upper Egypt is, nor such as ten days since I breathed on the plains of ruined Thebes and Esne, nor such as cheered my lungs, as I sailed up and down the lovely, lovely Nile; but a rich atmosphere of delight, nevertheless.

Feb. 16th, Abbas Pacha returned from Constantinople to Cairo. He had been there to visit the Sultan, after receiving from him the appointment of Hatti Sheriff. His entry into Cairo was brilliant, with the cortége of carriages and retinue of mounted cavaliers The city was all joy; and in the evening, all the principal streets and bazaars were brilliantly illuminated. In the Esbekiah were the fireworks. Those of every nation, and many riding on camels, were thronging the thoroughfares in the most picturesque costumes. The turbaned Turks, in crowds on foot; the Caireen women, the Copt in his white and muslin; and the Jew in his dark, close-fitting robes, the Bedouin in his wild desert dress, the Arabs in the burnouses; boatmen of the Nile, Effendis on horseback, with armed attendants and blacks, less distinguished Caireens on donkeys, Arab women with simple dress and unveiled faces, and numberless Franks with ladies, and alone, formed a panorama as you walked through Cairo, worth seeing. It was a joyful evening,—and how well behaved the people,—how different from an European or American holiday! How little drunkenness and bad conduct! Surely Christians might come to the East to learn manners. "I never saw," says an English gentleman, "such courtesy, such good-humor, such an absence of rudeness, and such happiness, in any city." Indeed it was beautiful.

Defterdar Bey; that *pious* member of the Geographical

Society of Paris, and his daughter. Among the many stories told of the ferocity of this wild beast in human shape, not the least interesting are those of the tamed tigers he kept on the divan beside him, and which frequently amused themselves in devouring his Nubian slaves. His daughter lived upon the west side of the river in her palace, and it was her common amusement to walk through the streets of Cairo, and if she saw a young Frank who attracted her attention, she would send her eunuch to bid him follow her. Were he unfortunate enough to do this, he never returned from her house. One young Frenchman, upon whom she thus cast her eyes, was thus bidden by a eunuch, and not daring to disobey the summons from such a powerful person, took the precaution of arming himself with pistols. After passing the night in her harem, in the morning she parted with him most affectionately, and giving him presents to disguise her intentions, as she had doubtless done frequently to her previous lovers, he left the harem, and two of the eunuchs accompanied him to the top of some stairs, which he perceived led rather mysteriously down a dark passage. Suspecting foul play, and observing both of the eunuchs had their hands on their sword-hilts, he pulled out both pistols, and ordered them to lead the way. This they did, and on arriving about half way down, he perceived a sort of landing-place, or trap-door, which was raised, and below ran the river. Here the eunuchs paused, and drew their swords; but he cocked his pistols, and placing one to the ear of each, ordered them to proceed. Upon reaching the bottom, he leaped from the steps, while they ran back to get assistance. He was unable to cross the river, and, as it was scarce daylight, succeeded in getting into the outskirts, and concealed himself in the straw in an old hut of a ruined village about a

mile up the river. He heard the voices of several of the black eunuchs, who had traced him through the villages by the barking dogs, but remained quiet till night, when, proceeding further up the river, he crossed there in a boat; and going to the Mokaattam mountains, arrived at Cairo on the other side next day, having not dared to enter a village for food. He went immediately to the French Consul, and told his story; but what would his protection have been to one who had the character and secret of the daughter of Defterdar Bey in his hands? and any "dog of a Christian" would be easily disposed of. So, upon the advice of the Consul, he left Cairo, and went to Alexandria, where he took passage for France. The disappearance of many young and handsome Franks, more adventurous than prudent, was thus accounted for; and this was the last instance known of one who had been in danger of being sacrificed to gratify the passion and save the reputation of this Egyptian "Lucrezia Borgia." Franks in Egypt were not protected as now, and the despotic and ferocious will of the daughters and sisters of the Beys and Pachas, particularly under the Mamelooks, caused many a parallel circumstance.

The Indian mail across the Isthmus has made Egypt a progressive country. But Turkish rule keeps back their improvement. The contractors for the route at the stations on the desert, have to give large sums, *backsheesh*, to the Pachas or Beys, or they throw obstacles in their way.

Among the plagues of Egypt and the routes to Syria are the dragomen. There is an understanding always between the hotels and the dragomen, and hence one is as apt to have a bad as a good one. The best way to get dragomen, is to ask some one in Cairo to whom you have letters. The English

travellers from England and from India always spend some days in Cairo, and frequently weeks. This furnishes you always with society for the length of time you choose to remain. Returning from the Nile and in your way to Syria, it is always customary to take a house, as you have all necessary articles. The expense of a trip up the Nile will vary from $250 to $500, according to your boat; and $250 would cover the journey from Cairo over Syria to Damascus. Colonel Outram was one of the English residents last winter in Cairo, and went up the Nile. He, as resident of Baroda, in India, enjoyed almost absolute power. Life and death being at his will, as are the Rajahs' lives or deaths at the Governor General's. His quarrel with Lord Napier, and the Scinde affair, is well known.

The increase of English influence in India is more and more apparent. "The character of Abbas Pacha," says a late traveller, "before he was Pacha, exhibits a union of ferocity and vice, for which we find a parallel only in the Roman Emperors." The worst vices of the worst Turks degrade him. In his new palace, built at Cairo, his absolute power is made to minister only to his pleasure. Seyd Pacha, though wanting in mind, would have made a far more hopeful governor. Of the other sons of Mehemet Ali, one was conspicuous in the storming of the Chateau d'Eu, at Paris, last winter; and the others, as I have said, on attempting to return to Egypt, were sent away by Abbas, for fear they should promulgate some of those revolutionary opinions which they had learned in France. Just before leaving Alexandria, several of the ships of the Egyptian fleet were reported to have been sold by Abbas to the Sultan.

Some of the finest society at Alexandria is that of the

wealthier Greeks. The lady of one of the transit agents, a Greek, is beautiful. The famous banker, Sitzy, has often been spoken of. Many a face of Greek outlines would not do discredit to the reputation of the ancient Corinthians.

In the custom-house at Alexandria, and Boulacq, the port of Cairo, you see an air of business, and a crowd that has interest from the oriental costumes of those engaged in it. In the Pacha's offices are those miserable Italians and French, who exercise most contemptible authority upon all imports and exportations of antiquities, although your baggage is allowed to enter more easily than in the Italian or French Doganas. These French renegades and Italian tools of his, who are scattered through the country as Beys, Governors, Lieutenants or Hakims, are fine Arabic business men, and in many cases use their power with more moderation than their superiors; but what system of agriculture can thrive when the Pacha holds the *allodium*, giving out his land to the peasants, and furnishing them with cattle and seed, requiring them to give him a part as his right, and to sell the rest at the price he may dictate? Will not the inhabitants ever aim at duplicity and deceit, and concealment; and all ambitious industry, which would otherwise be a spur to these naturally persevering and bright Arabs, be thus checked? And that system of horrid *enlistment*, or pressing of the people into the military by conscription, has been dwelt on. Every other Egyptian has an eye put out, or a forefinger cut off. To prevent this, the Pacha made a *one-eyed* regiment. It would seem that ophthalmia were curse enough. The poor, poor Egyptian, always cursed, always plagued!

He was not without the religious feeling, ever. In the dawn of history, we see him a worshipper. The poor, de-

graded man of the Nile, when he saw the sun rising driving away the mists—the glorious sun—giving life, drying the mud, warming the crocodile's egg, the seed, into life—the good, *bright* sun, making his toil productive, and putting warmth into his limbs,—he raised up his hands and worshipped it. It was a worship of gratitude and love. It is on their first names, their first cartouches, the Sun-Father; then the twenty-six gods or stars. To him it was the generator and regenerator; and as for immortality, as soon as the idea was fully taught, under the Ptolemies, to the people, the destruction of life by suicide was incalculable. "We shall leave," they said, "this world of suffering and oppression, of ophthalmia, and of poverty, and we shall go to a better; for no life can be worse." Poor, poor Egyptian! under thy Pharaoh Mœris—under thy Abbas Pacha—I have an exceeding great respect for thee, even in thy mud hut—even in thy home that thou scrapest in the bank, with the single clay utensil that thou hast. Thou never camest from the mud of the Nile, though thy body was made of red earth. There is a part of thee that has lived before the sun—that will live when it rises not.

Women in the East.—My remarks on this subject are few and far between. I love women—but I never found them in the East. I found only the old, withered hag of the harem, who is every where to be seen in the streets; and occasionally caught glimpses of the pretty *Odalisque*, whose face was never to be seen unless enveloped in the *yaschmak*. To him who lives in his imagination and in the past, as he who goes to Egypt must, for the time women are a nonentity. Woman—woman with soul, that other part of man—she is never

to be seen in the beautiful East, unless by chance an English lady traveller strays there, or one from our own bright land.

True the Pachas have toys—the Beys, the Turks, all have toys; they dress them in silks, in rare tissues; they feed them with sweetmeats; and the fatter they are, the more they prize them. They have, and so have we, dogs whom we treat thus; we have canaries whom we cage; and these are your women in the East.

Cairo, in the eight weeks that I have spent in it, before going up, and now, is exhausted: and now for the voyage down the river to Alexandria. This is a simple affair. Twenty-four hours does it, and you have no *bed*, which is the bore. Thackeray, in his *squib* about the East, "Journey from Cornhill to Cairo," fully dilates upon it. The voyage was not four days, as when I came up from Atfeh, and I have not so much time to observe the formation of *that* Delta. I am not a geologist, but I believe that six thousand years ago, Nubia was as well endowed with soil as Egypt, and that the Creator *did not*, as the geologists say he did, (sneeringly,) make that Delta at the creation *ready-made;* but that six thousand years has formed it—Lyell and others to the contrary. I am supported in my opinion of this by eminent geologists with regard to the Nile, if not the Mississippi.

After passing Shoobra, and bidding farewell to the Pyramids for ever, we wind through the luxuriant fertility of this valley, through the palm groves that we gaze on for the last time. Dr. Lallemand, *Membre de l'Institut*, is on board, and his wife and son, and Mr. Danton. I had seen their names in the tombs of the kings, and we compared notes. Observing the Mahmoudieh canal winding like the Nile, I was struck with a remark M. Lallemand quoted from the Turks; viz., that they

had purposely made it so, because they did not wish to excel God in making it straight; and this was Turkish philosophy in medicine and every thing else, viz., "Laissez faire." Numerous India Englishmen are on board; passing a village with mosques, I heard a servant remark to her companion, that those mosques were *idols* which the Turks had erected to their gods. At Atfeh, we entered the Mahmoudieh canal, which looks as it did nearly four months ago. The same crowd of Arab boats, the same Arab row, the same line across the canal, the same transit agent. Farewell, then, to the Nile, for ever, beloved, sacred river—to thee and thy sweet waters, for which, like the exile, we would sigh till we drink again. May these ever gush from the emerald mountains beyond Meroe; may the wonders of art ever adorn thy banks, and this be the only steamer that ploughs thy waves where Moses was found, and Cleopatra's barge floated with its oars of silver.

Alexandria came in sight towards sunset, (after winding down the bank of Lake Mareotis, which is alive with its wild-fowl,) with its pillar, its distant obelisk, its consular flags, its tall shipping. We land where we embarked to go up the Nile with our solitary Arab boy and boat, and an *omnibus* whirls us into the square before the Hotel d'l'Europe.

The admittance of Nile waters into Lake Mareotis has made the city much more healthy. Shooting game there, you perceive the noxious exhalations proceeding from it.

CHAPTER VIII.

Alexandria.—The Frank quarter.—Pompey's Pillar.—The Obelisks.—Thothmes.—The Pharos.—Obelisk of alabaster to Mohammed Ali.—News from France—Celebration of Proclamation of Republic by French.—Expulsion of Pope from Rome.—America and California—President Taylor and new Cabinet.—Anxiety for home.—The row of buildings belonging to Ibrahim Pacha.—Alexandrian society.—Bankers, merchants.—English—English Church.—New Church building.—Catholic Convent, and new Catholic Church.—Chev. d'Anastasi's museum—its use to Egyptian science.—Mr. Harris's museum.—Russian Consulate—Russian vessels of war—Dockyards.—Egyptian fleet.—Saracenic ruins, walls, towers.—Ruins temple Arsinoe.—Catacombs *ycleped* Cleopatra's baths.—Site and ruins of Sarapeum—site and ruins of library—Site of Theatre.—Palace.—Canopus' baths.—Bazaar.—Promenades.—Italian Church and Italian beauties.—The Italian Opera and Cafés.—Italians and Levantines.—Rides.—Sayd Pacha's Palace.—Orange groves, and exquisite view.—Arab city under the Caliphs.—Mosque of a thousand and one columns.—Canopus.—Supposed tomb of Alexander.—Turkish quarter, and customs.—Mohammed Ali's palace and gardens.—Alexandria under the Ptolomies—Cleopatra—Antony—Pompey.—Old Egypt's splendor.—Aboukir, and Nelson's field of victory.—Abercrombie—Bazaars, and Moggrebyn Arabs.—Modern Alexandria.—Two sons of Ibrahim Pacha.—Arab soldiers.—Etesian winds.—Cameo of Naples, "Tazze Farnese."—Homeward bound.—Farewell to Egypt.—Candia, or Crete.—Straits of Messina, Mount Etna, Coast of Italy, Spezzia, and quarantine.—Tuscan soldiers.—Lombardese.—Austrians.—Italian liberty.—Marseilles.—Avignon.—Lyons.—Paris.—Zodiacs.—France, and a President.—Bibliotheque.—Assyrian Museum.—London.—Chevalier Bunsen.—"*Egyptologists*," British Museum.—Mr. Birch.—Layard.—Nineveh.—Major Rawlinson.—Voyage home.—New-York Bay.

Next morning we were promenading this motley city, or riding about on our donkey to see the lions; which, to avoid

enumeration, we have placed at the head of our chapter. In the bazaar you may see numbers of the Moggrebyn Arabs and those from the Libyan desert; and though you feel it excessively dull and unoriental after Cairo, still the Nile and desert Arabs, Turks, Syrians, Bedouins, English, French, Italians, Jews, Greeks, Russian and American officers and sailors, the large English commerce, and English captains and sailors, make it almost as variegated a city as San Francisco must be.

The museum of medals, &c., belonging to that fine Egyptian scholar and antiquarian, Mr. Harris, has been frequently spoken of; and the museum of C. d'Anastasi, the Swedish Consul-general of Egypt, now in London, has furnished many Scripture illustrations and proofs.

> "Nam qua Pellæi, gens fortunata Canopi."
>
> GEORGICS IV. 285.

Canopus, built on the western side of the Nile, was termed Pellæan, from Pella, in Macedonia, the birth-place of Alexander. Canopus on the west, and Pelusium on the east, are described in the Georgics of Virgil. In the catacombs, on the plains, in the few old ruins, (among which are the baths of Cleopatra, and at which there is nothing to see,) are all to be seen of the once great city of Alexander. His tomb was here, but nothing else. And yet African as Alexandria looks, when you first arrive from Europe, now, returning from four months up the Nile, it seems more European than Europe. Walking with M. d'Abaddie, who was so many years in Abyssinia, I could not but be amused at his saying of it with contempt, "This European, *un*oriental town!"

Near the docks is the site of the temple of Arsinoe, and while exploring this, you can glance at the fine palaces,

whose latticed harems hang over the water. The pillar, called Pompey's Pillar so erroneously, was erected by Publius in honor of Diocletian. Some suppose an equestrian statue stood upon it; but to me it seemed only to be one of a number of columns of an edifice, and I supposed it belonged to the Sarapeum. Here, it is said by Adrian, in his letter to Servian, that both Christian Jews and Gentiles worshipped Jupiter Serapis.

About the time that I reached Alexandria, two sons of Ibrahim Pacha were returned; and Abbas not liking their presence, very coolly gave them orders to leave in twenty-four hours. The French steamer was forced to return with them. The Pacha, on his return from Constantinople, as well as from Mecca, just before his accession, made the engineers many splendid presents. The engineers of the steamers hold the rank of naval officers in the Egyptian fleet, and wear the insignia.

There was enough to wear out a few days at Alexandria: there was Mohammed Ali's fine palace, and there were the Arab baths; there was Mr. Harris's collection, and shooting, with a Greek, along Lake Mareotis. There was the Italian Theatre and the Italian Cafe; there was Canopus' and Cleopatra's baths; and the picturesque shore, and a gallop along the bay of Aboukir; and there was the English Church on Sunday, and a pleasant Sunday evening walk along the road to Rosetta Gate and the Cleopatra obelisk; and then there was Pompey's pillar, and the ruins of the library; the Turkish bazaar, and the Arab bazaar; and silk-dealers of *robes*, and embroidery from Damascus; and Greek dealers in Roman antiquities; and the French Consul, and the Fêtes de Republique; and the English merchant fleet, and the

English Consul; and fresh news from California, and my own dear land. Not a day was without its many scenes of interest.

Now a regiment of Arab soldiers file through the streets; now a Dervish meeting; now an overland mail from England, and you fancy you are walking down Regent Crescent in London; now from India, and you can see Calcutta afloat; now a French steamer, and a crowd of French adventurers, leaving the new *republic* for the *republic's good.* I have been more than four months in Egypt, and it is not yet a bore.

I would gladly, if time permitted, build up old Greek Alexandria as it was, out of the ruins. I amused my fancy with the picture of the past, when Cleopatra ruled, and

> "The barge she sat in, like a burnished throne
> Burned on the water: the poop was beaten gold,
> Purple the sails, and so perfumed, that
> The winds were lovesick with them; the oars were silver."
>
> ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

Alexandria, whether it be Greek, Roman, Christian or Patriarchal, Saracenic, Turkish, French, English, or that of the family ruling thee now:—It is all in history. Here in the days of the Greek Emperors a scene is described. "Along the banks of the green island in the middle of the stream, lay anchored the galleys of the principal traders, large floating bazaars, bearing each the name of its owner, emblazoned in letters of flame over its stern. Over the decks were spread out in gay profusion the products of the loom and needle of Egypt, rich carpets of Memphis, and likewise those variegated veils, for which the female embroiderers of the Nile are so celebrated, and to which the name of Cleopatra lends traditional charms.

In each of the other galleys was exhibited some branch of Egyptian workmanship, vases of the fragrant porcelain of On; cups of that frail crystal, whose hues change like those of the pigeon's plumage; enamelled amulets graven with the heads of Anubis, and necklaces and bracelets of the black beans of Abyssinia." Such was the Alexandria of the Greeks!

It was after the season of Etesian winds, whose beneficent influence the Egyptians represented by angels;—I recalled the celebrated Egyptian cameo in Naples, in which Horus, Alexander and Ptolemy are represented, and the Etesian winds with their veils. The exquisite beauty of the sculpture of this vase, which is called the *Tazze Farnese*, I remembered with pleasure.

No such luxury is seen here now, but you may see the rich houses of the modern Greek, or of the transit agents, English merchants, consuls and Levantines; you may see the fine palace of Mohammed Ali; the palace and luxuriant orange groves of Seyd Pacha; you may see the English vessels of war and merchandise, and American frigates; threatening Russian consuls and Russian brigs; you may see the rich vegetation along Lake Mareotis, and thriving commerce in modern Alexandria, re-establishing her magnificence, and repaying to Egypt the lessons of science and philosophy, and art and luxury that she has taught the world.

The Greeks pride themselves upon some relics said to be of St. Catharine, who suffered martyrdom. Their church and cemetery, like that at Cairo, is well worth visiting.

I shall bid my reader farewell with an incomplete chapter, to which I give him only the headings. In the pages of guide-books and travellers, he will find these places all described, and what interest have these when Paris invites to her

repositories of books and art. We long again to saunter through the Jardin d'Hiver, or the concerts of the "Conservatoire," or to hear the rich tones of Alboni at Her Majesty's, in London; to see Marié Taglioni, or Carlotta Grisi starring it in the "Lost Pleiad," or Caroline Rosati in "La Prima Ballerina," and to hear the soft tenore of Mario or Moriani, or rich bass of Lablache and Tamburini. Paris, London, those homes of science, where you can travel in your arm-chair, in your Assyrian museums and Asiatic societies, in your saloons of savans;—why linger in dusty old Egypt longer?

For the mounds and records of our own land, for Uxmal, and Chiapas, and Yucatan, for California and its progressing civilization, which he who first struck his spade in the Sacramento so little foresaw; for proofs of Scripture among the Mexicans, the Peruvians, for the luxuriant scenery of the Amazon, and all that Humboldt has laid open in North and South America: for AMERICA! let us leave the time-honored land with thankfulness for the truths that she has taught us. I bade farewell to Egypt. In a few days we made the coast of Candia or Crete, and saw the green mountain where Jupiter was fabled to have been born. One bright morning we stood under clear Mount Etna, a familiar mountain which I had scanned on Sicilian ground before. Messina was underneath, the scene of Neapolitan massacres. A few days brought us to Spezzia in Italy. Quarantine over, to Marseilles, Avignon, Lyons, Paris, Old Egypt's relics there, juggling zodiacs, dusty *tomes* in her Bibliothéque—London and her museums I faithfully explored; but this time with pleasure, for Egypt had become part only of a grand whole of faith.

It was a bright Sunday morning in August, that I sallied from my hotel in Broadway, and crowds of well-dressed men

and women thronged the thoroughfares of this busy, Christian city. Through the aisles of Trinity the organ was pealing, and voices went up chanting praises to Heaven. As I stepped in, the lesson was reading in Deuteronomy, chapter iv, and of parts of it, the words seemed meant for me. "But the Lord hath taken you and brought you even out of Egypt. If from thence thou shalt seek the Lord thy God, thou shalt find him, if thou seek him with all thy heart and all thy soul," &c. Yes, what is conviction of truth, from science, from history, from Scripture, if we follow not in our lives the commandments of God, and the teaching and example of our Divine Master?

Reader, my wanderings among ruins will occupy you no longer, unless Nineveh, Babylon, Persepolis, Chiapas, Yucatan, or Mexico should entice me to their palaces, sepulchres and mounds.

APPENDIX.

A.

Astronomical Monuments in Egypt.

THERE were at Esne, Dendera, Hermonthis, tombs of the kings. Two were at Dendera, at the portico of the great temple; two at Esne. The four contained the twelve zodiacal constellations, of which the signs succeeded according to modern zodiacal interpretations.

Twelve constellations are placed upon a plane which stretches two parallel ways, forming a spiral curve or ellipsis, which you see in the zodiac at Dendera, and which is now in the royal library at Paris. Virgo or the Virgin is the first in that of Esne. Leo first in that of Paris. After Desraix brought to France the "discovery," they found an astronomical phenomenon; the first sign of each zodiac is that of the solstice at the time when the two temples were constructed. The temple of Dendera, when the two solstices are at the sign of the Lion, according to this rule, dates 4000 years before our epoch, and that of Esne 7000 years, having the sign of the Virgin. The zodiacs have in their order a date from 5000 to 10,000 years, and yet the temples which contained these pictures are nearly the most modern in Egypt. This was the report to Napoleon, by his librarian; Dupuis's opinion is given.

Laborde admitted that the first signs were those of the zodiacs; effaced the Virgin at Esne; placed the solstices at the left of the Lion; gave 3500 years to Esne, and 2000 less to Dendera. Laborde considered the temples at Esne and Dendera, as the memorials

of the successes of Alexander. See Fourier, "ressume litteraire de ses recherches sur les antiquities astronomiques de l'Egypt." Fourier says the Egyptian sphere carries us back to the twenty-fifth century before the Christian Era. At this time, observations made known the first elements of Astronomy. The epoch of the restitution,* he then dilates upon. Here is the origin of their laws and most ancient rites.

Recherches sur les sciences et le government de l'Egypt.—Fourier, in his description of Egypt, says an epoch which differs little from two thousand years has preceded the construction of the temple of Dendera, and that is posterior to that of Latopolis or Esne. These temples belong then (as the epoch of the zodiacal institution 2500 years, B. C.) to the civil history of Egypt. The monarchy then existed in all its forms, obeying wise and constant laws. Experience had fixed the principles of government and cultivated arts from time immemorial. They had produced the monuments of Esne, and reproduced them in the temple of Isis, at Dendera. Fourier concluded, therefore, that at the twenty-fifth century before the Christian era, the Egyptian monarchy was flourishing by knowledge of laws, manners, and arts, and reasoning that the sphere and calendar of two zodiacs was instituted, and therefore, at the twenty-first century, B. C., the temple of Esne and its zodiacs was constructed, that Dendera was built after this epoch. Hence, if these temples, which were the most modern in Egypt, were built 2100 B. C., to what a distance back could the dates of such buildings as Karnac and Thebes be carried. The French fashionable infidelity was on the tiptoe of delight. Biot, the astronomer, thought he could recognize astronomical features still more strange in the zodiac. The French philosophers already began to talk of 10,000, 20,000 years for Egypt's history, and the materialist to claim that the earth always existed. The zodiac was brought to Paris. Geologists, deists, atheists, all were delighted, and Scripture revelation they supposed had received its death blow.

Alas! "the tongue of a dog was made medicinal to a sickly Lazarus," and *this lie* in the same way proved useful to diseased truth. The discovery of the Rosetta Stone and the hieroglyphic alphabet by

* See Nolan's remarks upon the restitution in Egyptian Chronology.

Champollion, in Sept., 1822, lightened all doubts. The temples of Dendera and Esne were shown to have been built in the Roman age of Egypt, and they bear the names of the emperors, Hadrian and Antoninus. "Autocrator" had been cut off from the zodiacs when brought to Paris. On Esne, the names of Claudius, Titus, Domitian, Trajan, Antoninus, and Septimus Severus, were found, thus proving that it was built in the first century before Christ, and yet Fourier claimed 2000 years. At Dendera, even in the most ancient Roman part, you find the name of the last Cleopatra, and a list of the sovereigns who after her had assembled to its construction, viz.: Augustus, Tiberius, Caius, Claudius, Nero. Besides the names which were found sculptured upon them according to the design published by the French Commissioner of Egypt, was an imperial Roman title of Claudius and Nero.*

Having obtained a familiarity from Champollion's Grammaire and Dictionaire, and Wilkinson, with the signs and records I should find there, I saw the names clearly in an instant of these Roman Emperors. But the impression I received was so lively from the first glance at the temples of both Dendera and Esne that they were Roman, that I think any classical schoolboy would recognize the same. I felt how paltry were the efforts of the French infidels, how malicious their attempts by such scientific jugglery to cast a doubt upon the word of God. True science and true philosophy will only find in the glorious works of the Almighty, and true historical records of the race, the glorious confirmation of his word. All that these men have done, and all that kindred Chronologists or Geologists can do, has only brought and will continue to bring greater truths to light. By the persevering efforts of the French skeptics we gained the farther knowledge of the hieroglyphics which Champollion gave us, and the Egyptian scholars of the day, who detract in any manner from the completeness of Scripture, only awaken a spirit that leads to farther Scripture proof and continued confirmation.

* For a conclusion of the history of this matter, see Champollion Figeac, Fourier, and Napoleon, and Chronology.

B.

Christianity and the Church in Egypt, Ancient and Modern.

Mr. Leider, the English Missionary in Cairo, and rector of the Episcopal Church in the Place Esbekiah, which I frequently attended, may be almost said to be at the head of the Coptic Church in Cairo. The Coptic patriarch calls him his father, allows the young Copts to go to his school, and sanctions the distribution of tracts of the Church. His scholars in the nizam dress add interest to the service by reading clearly the English. He has studied fully the Coptic language, and says that it bears a relation to the Sanscrit alone of all living languages. As to affinities with the Gipsey language, the name of Copt is doubtless derived from γυπι or vulture, the name of Egypt, and in the Copt you perceive characteristics of the ancient Egyptians. In the finely chiselled features of a young Copt in Cairo, educated by Mr. Leider, I could see a resemblance to one of the Egyptians in the tombs of the kings which showed all the marks of the same race. The head of the Church, the patriarch of Alexandria, like the patriarch of the Greek Church, answers to the Pope of Rome, deriving his descent from St. Mark, and is at the head of a church that has nobly preserved its unity for eighteen centuries, which Athanasius has adorned; (but we leave this to Church History;) he has now little left but his title. He is elected by the fathers of St. Anthony or the convents of the Natron lakes. Next him is the *Mutram* or bishop, who is appointed by the Egyptian patriarchs; one is sent to Abyssinia to preserve its branch there. The superiors of the convents are called Gommos, next to the bishop; and the monks or priests have the title *aboona* or fathers.

The Copts have the character of being avaricious, sensual, and hypocritical. They dress in black turbans and robes and seem a blasted race. Some are very rich, and have several wives and slaves. One living next to our hotel on the Esbekiah, had a beautiful *odalisque*, who sometimes came to the window adorned with gold and jewels. Some are officers of the government. They frequently embrace Moslemism for a valuable marriage, and many Moslem corruptions have crept into their service, which, like their ancestors'

religion (the Egyptian), is administered by the priests in a Coptic tongue, not understood by the people. In Cairo they are scribes, tailors, jewellers, and perfumers, and club in one profession in different places.

Still corrupt as the Church is, we cannot but look upon it with interest. In their fasts, the longest of which is Lent, and their libraries of the Church fathers, and in the stern integrity in which for certainly thirteen centuries, and perhaps eighteen, they have maintained their religion, we must look upon them with hope.

Of the seven convents which alone remain of the numbers once in Egypt, the two of St. Anthony and St. Paul, seventy-six miles across the desert from Benisooef, (whose patrons are St. Anthony of the Thebaid and St. Paul or *Mar Bolus*, by whom they were founded,) and the convents of the Natron lakes, St. Macarius, and Dayr Suriam (built by Honnes a holy personage), Amba Bishoi and Dayr Baramous, the latter rather Greek and the rest Coptic, and of the Arabic, Coptic, Syriac MSS. which they possess; Curzon in his narrative of the Levant and Wilkinson in his Hand-Book fully treat. Their fasts are long, they must never marry unless with virgins, they reject images but regard pictures. There are other convents throughout the Nile, a visit to some of which I have described. Here the priests marry, but are much respected. These are Gebel Coskam in Upper Egypt; Dayr el Adra or Gebel-el-Tayr, Bibbeh, Boash, Negadeh, Aboo Honnes, Amboo, Samoud, in the Fayaum; Girgeh, Abydos, Ikhmim, Mellawi, Sook Feshieh, near Menoof; Amba Shnoodah, near Soohajz; the Red and White Monastery El Shenood.*

The White Monastery El Shenood.—This monastery is visited from Soohajz. It was founded by the Empress Helena, is built in the style of an Egyptian temple; a long oblong building with a cornice. It stands alone with scarce a tree about it in a wide vast plain. It was with difficulty that I could get admittance. The monks have separate cells, and these are in the sides of the building. We found only a few books of the Romish service here. I had half promised my friend of the *propaganda* at Ikhmim, that I would visit this monastery. It is perhaps the only building in the world at present, where Christ's

* In this convent I was shown the name of St. Athanasius written in Coptic.

religion is practised in a church of ancient Egyptian style of building. It is sometimes called the *Dair* or temple. This, as well as the convents of the Natron lakes, and those of Tahta, and Girgeh, and Thebes, and Negadeh, have been fully described by Curzon, in his monasteries of the Levant. The monks are willing to receive donations from you, and the manner they have of showing this here, as well as in all those up the river, makes you feel as if they were hardly of your religion.

Beside these convents, there are three in the city of Cairo, two at old Cairo, one of which has beautiful gardens, where the patriarch resides, and a beautiful view. And in one the grotto is shown where the virgin lived:

> "Under a palm-tree by the green old Nile,
> Lulled on his mother's breast the fair child lies,
> With dove-like breathings and a tender smile,
> Brooding above the slumber of his eyes,
> While through the stillness of the burning skies,
> Lo, the dread work of Egypt's buried kings,
> Temple and pyramid beyond him rise,
> Regal and still as everlasting things,
> Vain pomps! from Him with that pure flowing cheek,
> Soft shadowed by his mother's drooping heart."

I would not put aside the traditions that in this grotto the Saviour, with his mother and Joseph, had rested while in Egypt. That at the sycamore-tree which grows near Heliopolis they stopped, or that at this fountain they drank. It is a pleasant old tradition, certainly as good and authentic as many of those which the Roman Catholic priests get up at Jerusalem.

The Church of St. George. There stands a convent where they show you the grotto of St. Sergius, and where, says tradition, Mary and Joseph lived and slept. Near lives the patriarch of Alexandria.

There is one convent at Alexandria, which is called the convent of St. Mark. The Copts here pretend that they possess the head and body of St. Mark, but Leo Africanus says, that the Venetians carried it away. It is filled with paintings of his martyrdom and mission.

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